'Gone With the Wind' *Reviewed by James Dugan*

NEW MASSES

FIFTEEN CENTS

January 2, 1940

Coughlin and the Law

John L. Spivak Sums Up

Chamberlain's Fourth Reich

Germany's 'Revolution' from the Right

On the Anti-Soviet War

by A. B. Magil

Murphy's Art of Suppression

by Adam Lapin

CARTOONS BY GROPPER, RICHTER, REINHARDT, OTHERS

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Between Ourselves

AMERICA today is in great debate. The people are thinking deeply and with vast concern. They are confronted with the proposition that faced America in 1861, in 1914. Shall it be war? The proposition is posed differently to different people: the youth see it in even starker outline —shall we live or die? If they send us to fight who will be our enemy? Is it our war? They are asking.

The editors of NM, today, as 1940 begins, realize this is one of those years that determine the course of mankind for decades, for centuries. We know the people realize this instinctively with the deep wisdom of the people that must fight the wars, must die the deaths.

All over the country the question arises. The people want to know. We are proud to help them get the truth and we shall carry on despite every hindrance (and there will be many), despite every attempt to suppress us—and that attempt has already begun. The machinations of the Dies committee and the Department of Justice indicate that.

We know our magazine is unique in America. It tells the truth. We know our readers realize we have been right infinitely more times than the mercenary press which purveys information for profit—and like as not, more often than not, it is false.

The editors of NM make this suggestion to our readers. It is not enough that you read this magazine. That should be but the beginning. We urge you to get the truths of this publication to many more thousands than those who get it today.

We know you talk about the facts in these pages. We know that it provides the topics for your conversations with your friends and acquaintances. We urge you to talk to *many*, not to *few*.

In the past several weeks people have come to our offices with the following proposals, and we pass this idea on to you. It is a spontaneous one, as all great ideas are in time of popular turmoil. NM readers are forming circles, informally, among their friends, to discuss the issues presented by this magazine. They are getting to the bottom of the complex political scene; they are inviting their friends to study with them.

These circles of eager men and women, seeking the truth, are springing up in all parts of the country. They are debating the great proposition.

Others, who have the facilities locally, are starting Forums at which they pose today's life-and-death questions. They get the magazine to their friends and acquaintances, to all who ask the questions. They get bundles of the magazine, indefatigably spread its truths. They invite the editors and contributors of the magazine to come to speak, and tell the truths to their friends.

There is great ferment throughout America, intense desire to hear the "other side of the question." Congressman Martin Dies, Attorney General Murphy fear to let the question be debated openly, honestly. They wish to shut us up, all of us who know the truth, and who have the will to tell it. The enemy is working fast; the truth-seekers must work all the faster.

The editors of NM believe that the formation of hundreds and thousands of these NM Circles in your homes will provide a vehicle for the truths to reach the millions.

We urge you to immediately speak to your friends, invite them to form such groups. The organization of the "circles" seem to have the following characteristics:

1. Informal invitations to friends to discuss the chief issues of the day.

2. The discussions take place in the homes of the various groups.

3. One or several individuals study the issues currently appearing in NM, in order to lead the discussion, to act as chairmen, informally.

4. Occasionally, if possible, NM editors or contributors are invited to lead the discussion.

5. All who attend these informal meetings are given copies of NM to read, are persuaded to become subscribers.

We feel that with the slightest attention the circulation of NM can be doubled; the circulation of its ideas multiplied manifold by these activities.

Others, in large cities, have the facilities to open forums, to invite noted speakers, and thus to reach many more than otherwise.

Such, for example, is the Progressive Forum, in New York, at 430 Sixth Ave., N. Y. C., which meets every Friday night. Friday, December 29, A. B. Magil will speak on the role of liberals in these days. Other speakers to appear here will be Joseph North, Joseph Starobin, and other editors and contributors.

We present this idea to you: we want you to let us know your reaction. Please write us your ideas, your experiences, so we can pass them on to all who realize there is no time to lose.

Scores of notables in the theater, arts, and letters will celebrate 1940 with you at the Royal Windsor, 69 West 66th St., New Year's Eve, when NM, doubling for old Ponce de Leon, stages its Fountain of Youth party. Edgar Hayes Blue Rhythm band will toot for William Blake, Marc Blitzstein, Gardner Rea, Bill Gropper, John L. Spivak, Harold Rome, A. Redfield, Alvah Bessie, Mike Gold, Mordecai Bauman, Bruce Minton, and NM editors. Rudolf Friml, Jr., and band will battle the Hayes outfit in the least expensive affair in town: 75 cents in advance, 90 cents at the door. Tickets may be had at Workers Bookshops, or this office.

Phil Stern

John L. Spivak

During January, Mr. Spivak will speak under the auspices of the Jewish People's Committee at four New York meetings: On Monday, January 8, at 8 p.m. at the Menorah Temple, 50th St. and 14th Ave., Brooklyn; on Wednesday, January 10, at 8:30 p.m. at the Pythian Temple, 135 West 70th St., N. Y. C.; on Friday January 12, at 8:30 p.m. Milrose Chateau, 1830 Pitkin Ave., Brooklyn; and on Sunday, January 14, at 2 p.m. at Hunt's Point Palace, Southern Blvd. and 163rd St., Bronx.

Who's Who

ADAM LAPIN is Washington correspondent of the *Daily Worker*. . . . Gerald Griffin, Jr., is a journalist who has lived in Germany and England and knows the set who are preparing the new coup to substitute another dictatorship over the Third Reich in place of Hitler. The name, of course, is a pseudonym. . . . Dudley Nichols is one of Hollywood's most outstanding screenwriters. . . . William Pickens is director of branches for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. . . . Isidor Schneider is the author of *From the Kingdom of Necessity* and a former literary editor of NM. . . . Herbert Aptheker is the author of *The Negro in the Civil War*.

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Two weeks' notice is required for change of address. Notification direct to us rather than to the post office will give the best results.

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NEW MASSES

VOLUME XXXIV JANUARY 2, 1940 NUMBER 2

What's Been Done About Coughlin?

AN EDITORIAL

THE current issue of NEW MASSES ends John L. Spivak's notable series on the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin. It leaves America with the question thousands are asking: "What is the federal government doing about it?" The series afforded an important by-product: an index to the status of civil liberties in this nation today. That picture is alarming. As this is written we receive word that the Rev. Owen A. Knox, treasurer of the Detroit Civil Rights Federation, was attacked and severely manhandled by a band of vigilantes December 19. Evidence is at hand that the police authorities, by failing to provide protection to the Spivak meeting that evening, gave the gangsters the opportunity they sought. The Rev. J. H. Bollens, Federation chairman, states explicitly:

> The incitement to violence and intimidation inspired by Father Coughlin and Gerald L. K. Smith could occur only if the police department failed to provide adequate protection to those against whom violence was being advocated.

Mr. Bollens charged too that Gerald L. K. Smith's radio speech over WJR Sunday, December 17, was definitely designed to incite an assault on the Civil Rights Federation mass meeting at the Mayfair Ballroom, December 19. This vigilante atmosphere is not confined to Detroit.

Indeed the Coughlin series put the spotlight on a host of political phenomena. The fact that the circulation of this magazine doubled during the crest of the series indicated the widespread concern nationally over the radio demagogue's machinations.

But that concern has not spiraled down to Attorney General Frank Murphy or to Postmaster General James A. Farley. Their offices have been too busy devising ways and means to "legally" violate the Bill of Rights. *Vide:* the persecution of Communist leaders on flimsy passport charges. *Vide:* Thurman Arnold's persecution of labor by means of the anti-trust laws. They haven't time evidently, nor the inclination to pay much attention to the evidence proffered by Mr. Spivak against a genuine foe of American democracy. Routine replies to our offer to turn over the documents indicate a lukewarm attitude to the demand that Coughlin be investigated.

For example, when we notified the Post Office Department that Father Coughlin called for violence against us we received the following reassuring note from the solicitor's office:

> The postmaster general has referred to me your letter of the 1st instant calling attention to an editorial entitled "Red Mud," which appears in the Dec. 4, 1939, issue of *Social Justice* magazine. This matter will have careful consideration.

The nature of that consideration has not been revealed. We do know that *Social Justice* has continued to appear, has continued its appeals for violence. The United States mails carry these calls for "action."

We know too that that violence is not directed against us alone. It threatens all progressives who dare open their mouths today. (Consider the case of the Rev. Owen A. Knox, mentioned above.) And Coughlin talks every Sunday.

All this does not mean that the Federal Bureau of Investigation is ignoring Detroit. Mr. Murphy's men are there all right. But they are in the auto capital to provide the basis for a continued assault upon labor. Fred W. Perkins, bitterly anti-labor reporter for the Roy Howard press, outlines the industrialists' conspiracy:

> The Justice Department interest (in Detroit) originates from the international situation rather than from domestic labor affairs. Detroit's industrialists and others have carried to Washington authorities, including President Roosevelt and the heads of the War and Navy Departments, alarming predictions of sabotage if radicals could continue believing that tolerance in high places would shield them.

Our frequent warnings are once more underlined. President Roosevelt is committed to a war policy. Hence he scuttles all the highly touted aims of the New Deal. He is now engaged in slashing at progress all down the line. The tactic is reminiscent of the Palmer Red Raid days. Denying democracy to Communists, democracy is crippled generally. Thus the open shop interests went into action a score of years ago against all labor and progressive organizations and set democracy back many years. History is repeating itself except that today capitalism is in a greater hurry than ever before.

The Coughlin series brought further conspiracies to light. Consider the complete silence in the commercial press. Not a line in the great New York *Times* or the big news agencies. Total silence in this great free press of ours reveals its sympathies. An offer of NEW MASSES to turn the documents over to the *Herald Tribune* resulted in the following telegram from Wilbur Forrest of that paper's editorial staff:

> Regardless of the legal aspects of Father Coughlin's series we have decided not to consider it further because of our long-standing policy against raising controversial religious issues.

Would it be laboring the point to inquire if pogroms are "controversial"? Are such assaults as that upon the Reverend Knox "controversial"?

No, the press is too busily engaged in drumming up a war psychosis to pay attention to indigenous fascist movements. On the contrary, it is consciously providing the atmosphere for the spread of such activities. It has become a pogrom press.

Finally, we wish to thank our readers and friends for having made possible the Spivak series and for promoting the circulation of this magazine to many more thousands than our usual circulation. No angels with millions at their disposal flew into our windows; nobody helped us but our readers who support our ideas with all their energies and with the few pennies they can spare.

We wish, too, to thank Mr. Spivak for his fine public service in obtaining the material and presenting it so that many thousands of Americans could get the truth about Silver Charlie Coughlin.

We urge our readers to continue their demands for federal action against Coughlin. We are certain we have by this series helped set into motion a current that will finally sweep Father Coughlin from his eminence. We have helped set America on guard and we are proud of it.

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The Legal Case Against Coughlin

John L. Spivak sums up the evidence on Silver Charlie in this last article of his series of exposures of Coughlin's financial rackets.

I HAD intended to show, in this last article of the series dealing with the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, that his radio broadcasts, which influence an estimated 3,500,000 listeners, cost much more than the public contributes for this purpose. I had planned to list the forty-seven radio stations in his network and show that an hour's time on each and the "line charges" cost over $500,000 a year. (Line charges are costs met by the sponsor for the hookups between stations.) In addition, there are heavy expenditures for printing and postage, since the talks are distributed free to all who request them.

The figures which I had from Father Coughlin's own books showed that neither the Radio League of the Little Flower nor *Social Justice* magazine, which back the weekly broadcasts, clear that much money. Since these are the only two corporations established by the radio priest which raise money on a large scale, the natural questions were: who met the difference, and for what purpose?

THANK YOU, FATHER

Father Coughlin, however, saved me the necessity of going into these details. In his plea for a $200,000 radio fund, published in the Dec. 18, 1939, issue of *Social Justice,* he frankly admitted that "Radio expense is now close to $10,000 per week."

This estimate, so far as I have been able to ascertain, is correct.

Let's see how the Radio League, which has already collected about a million dollars from the public and which is tightly controlled by Silver Charlie's little coterie of three, functioned right from the beginning. I pointed out in my first article, which I will summarize briefly for a clearer picture of how Coughlin operates, that it was incorporated on Aug. 15, 1930. The officers were the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, president; Eugenia Burke, vice president; Amy Collins, secretary-treasurer. The corporation, which was launched to collect large sums from the public, was sewed up so no one else could horn in on it, by providing in Article IX of the articles of incorporation: "Officers shall be chosen by the original organizers or their successors in office."

By the end of 1930—only a few months after it was incorporated—it had received over $44,000, and business was taking a turn. I shall not go into the detailed "take" from the public in the first few years when the income fell to a pretty low figure (assets of a little over $6,000 by the end of 1934). It was in this period of low assets and a discouraged outlook that the radio priest began to waver in his fervent pro-Roosevelt and pro-New Deal speeches. He seemed to be feeling his way to see what would happen. One week found him for the New Deal and the next against it. By the end of 1935 he was chiefly anti-Roosevelt and anti-New Deal. Big industry and finance also hated the President and even his remotest ancestor; in Coughlin they heard a voice which reached the country, attacking the man they hated. In this very same period the dough suddenly started coming in and assets boomed to almost $80,000. Then money appeared to launch *Social Justice.* A political organization, the National Union for Social Justice, was started, and the radio priest sought more and more stations to reach the people. He didn't seem to have the slightest worry about where to get the money to pay for them. By the end of 1936, when Coughlin was most active in attacking Roosevelt and the New Deal, the money he received, presumably in the dollar and two-dollar contributions from his audience, brought the assets of this neatly controlled corporation to a little over $200,000 clear of all liabilities. With the money the public sent in for the Radio League, Coughlin and his two stenographers bought $14,000 worth of real estate, $54,000 worth of other tangible property, extended credits of $125,000, and socked $12,000 away in the bank.

WHAT, NO LIABILITIES?

By the end of 1937 the radio venture had assets of over $190,000 and not a penny in liabilities. The trio—Coughlin and his two secretaries—had bought about $50,000 worth of real estate, extended credits of $116,000, and had $22,000 in loose change carefully put away in a bank. It was during this year that Silver Charlie quarreled with his ecclesiastical superior, the archbishop of Detroit. Fearful that the church might somehow stop him from running the Radio League, he stepped out as president, leaving Amy and Eugenia to keep an eye on things and run the outfit. The mysterious Edward Kinsky, who operates out of a broker's firm in New York, became the president and the vice president of the privately owned publishing business issuing *Social Justice* magazine.

Business continued to boom—by the end of 1938 (the latest balancing of the Coughlin corporation books) the triumvirate had bought around $100,000 worth of real estate, almost $65,000 worth of property, extended credits of $118,000, and had a nice nest egg of $190,000 in cash in the bank.

The important thing is not that this trio ran the "take" up to almost half a million dollars or that they were buying real estate and other property, which they controlled with no one else horning in on it. The point is that the money was collected from the public for "charitable and religious" purposes; and in 1937 the business which the corporation engaged in was "maintenance of church." I should like the reader to bear this point in mind—I shall come back to it.

The year 1938, when the "take" reached almost half a million dollars, is the year that Coughlin launched his anti-Semitic campaign, disseminated Nazi propaganda emanating from Berlin, and fought the CIO drive in the auto plants with all his might. Incidentally, in this year when he got the most money, he did not employ as many girls to open the mail as when the contributions from the public were nowhere near as much—which arouses the reasonable suspicion that a good portion of this money did not come from the small public donations.

Figures usually make dull reading in a popular magazine, so I shall not go into greater detail on the income and expenditures of the Coughlin corporations. But there are several important aspects concerning the Radio League and *Social Justice:*

1. Father Coughlin's broadcasts, according to Stanley G. Boynton, president of Aircasters, Inc., which arranges them, is paid for by Social Justice Publishing Co. This private publishing business, however, is operated on an annual deficit of between $60,000 and $75,000. Its entire income, even if it did not pay for paper, printing, editorial and office help, advertising, mailing, freight, etc., is insufficient to meet broadcasting expenses totaling half a million dollars a year. It uses its income to publish and sell the paper and has a hefty deficit at the end of the year. Consequently, it could not possibly pay the costs of the weekly national broadcasts. Just as logically, the radio time and the magazine's deficits must have been and are being met now by persons other than the general public who are interested in promoting Father Coughlin's pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic, anti-union activities.

2. These broadcasts, again according to Stanley G. Boynton, are commercial and intended to advertise the radio priest's privately owned *Social Justice* magazine.

3. If there are no sinister forces supporting Coughlin's dissemination of propaganda, then these enormous costs must have been met by the Radio League —the only other corporation collecting money from the public on a large scale.

4. Money collected by the Radio League of the Little Flower and used to advertise a private publishing business, cannot be considered "maintenance of church."

5. If Radio League money, collected from the public for "Christian endeavors," has and is being used to advertise a private business, then the people who contributed it in the belief it was for religious purposes were defrauded—an act punishable by imprisonment, I am informed by competent attorneys.

One thing is certain, according to the direct statement made to me by the president of the firm which handles the broadcasts: they are paid for by the Social Justice Publishing Co., publishers of *Social Justice* magazine. This

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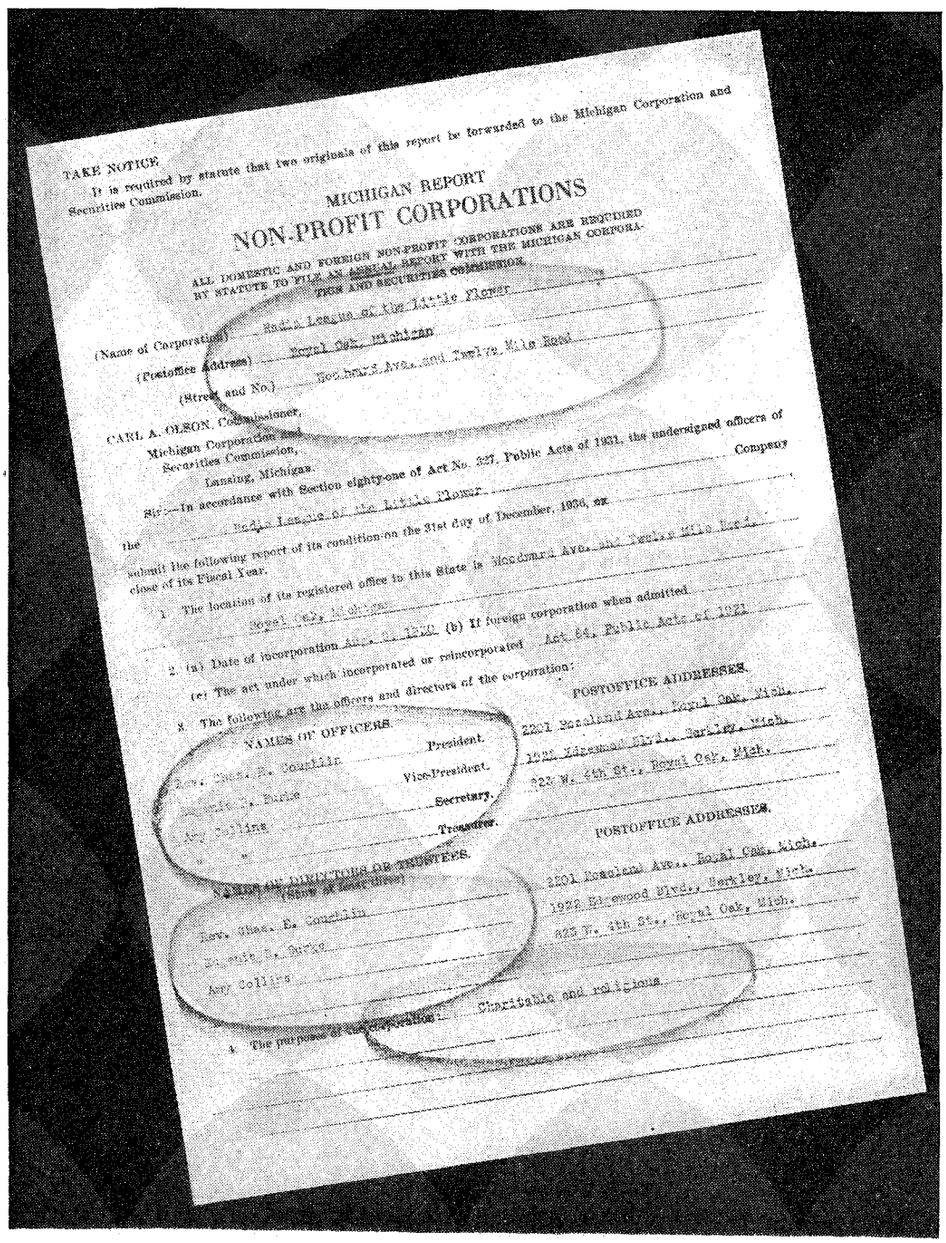
private business is now "owned" by another corporation organized by Silver Charlie, the Social Justice Poor Society, which was incorporated "to aid the poor and destitute." Actually this outfit never gave a second thought to the poor and destitute; it was organized under the guise of carrying on Christian charity but really functioned only as a holding company for the private publishing business established by Silver Charlie.

Before I close this series, come with me to meet one of the "owners" of this private business. It will give you a better picture of how Silver Charlie operates:

The auditor for the various Coughlin corporations is Alberta Ward of 807 N. Washington Ave., Royal Oak, Mich. Alberta, who works in the tax-exempt Shrine of the Little Flower, gets $20 a week (Social Security Card No. 364-12-9190). Her weekly wages are paid by Social Justice Publishing Co., a private business. For this $20 a week, she acts also as "trustee" of the Social Justice Poor Society, which owns the publication that she works for. As one of the three "trustees" she is an owner of the magazine.

I had been curious about this lady and Dorothy Rhodes, Marie Rhodes, Eugenia Burke, and the rest of them—all underpaid employees of the Social Justice Publishing Co. and all holding high offices in the Coughlin corporations. In trying to locate their homes I looked them up in the 1938 Royal Oak city directory, the latest edition. Like everyone else the ladies listed their occupations along with their addresses. Dorothy and Marie Rhodes, both living at 826 Knowles, stated that they were "stenographers"—while they were supposed to be presidents, secretaries, treasurers, directors, and trustees of Coughlin corporations collecting vast sums of money from the public. Eugenia Burke of 1922 Edgewood Blvd., Berkeley, another high officer in the Coughlin corporations, gives her occupation as "clerk." Alberta, who gets less pay than any of them, had the most impressive listing; she is an "accountant."



TAKE NOTICE
It is required by statute that two originals of this report be forwarded to the Michigan Corporation and Securities Commission.

MICHIGAN REPORT
NON-PROFIT CORPORATIONS

ALL DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN NON-PROFIT CORPORATIONS ARE REQUIRED BY STATUTE TO FILE AN ANNUAL REPORT WITH THE MICHIGAN CORPORATION AND SECURITIES COMMISSION.

(Name of Corporation) Radio League of the Little Flower
(Postoffice Address) Royal Oak, Michigan
(Street and No.) Woodward Ave. and Twelve Mile Road

CARL A. OLSON, Commissioner,
Michigan Corporation and Securities Commission,
Lansing, Michigan.

Sir:—In accordance with Section eighty-one of Act No. 327, Public Acts of 1921, the undersigned officers of the Radio League of the Little Flower Company submit the following report of its condition on the 31st day of December, 1936, or close of its Fiscal Year.

1. The location of its registered office in this State is Woodward Ave. and Twelve Mile Road, Royal Oak, Michigan.

2. (a) Date of incorporation August 14, 1930. (b) If foreign corporation when admitted.

(c) The act under which incorporated or reincorporated Act 84, Public Acts of 1921.

3. The following are the officers and directors of the corporation:

NAMES OF OFFICERS.		POSTOFFICE ADDRESSES.
Rev. Chas. E. Coughlin	President.	2201 Woodward Ave., Royal Oak, Mich.
Dorothy A. Rhode	Vice-President.	1922 Edgewood Blvd., Berkley, Mich.
Amy Collins	Secretary.	823 W. 4th St., Royal Oak, Mich.
" "	Treasurer.	

THE NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF TRUSTEES.
(Same as above.)

	POSTOFFICE ADDRESSES.
Rev. Chas. E. Coughlin	2201 Woodward Ave., Royal Oak, Mich.
Dorothy A. Rhode	1922 Edgewood Blvd., Berkley, Mich.
Amy Collins	823 W. 4th St., Royal Oak, Mich.

4. The purpose or purposes for which the corporation is formed: Charitable and religious

FROM COUGHLIN TO BURKE TO COLLINS. *The Radio League of the Little Flower, Inc., founded ostensibly for "charitable and religious" purposes, passed its money along to political and other suspicious setups.*

ALBERTA WARD

I found Alberta at her home, a two-story wooden frame building a few blocks from the Shrine. She opened the door and ushered me into the parlor with its spotless three-piece suite of upholstered furniture. Alberta is a timid woman rapidly approaching middle age and, I'm afraid, given to rouging her cheeks a bit too heavily. Her most striking feature in an otherwise plain face is a pair of deep, dark eyes which look out wonderingly at the world through octagonal glasses. When she becomes frightened the pupils seem to dilate until the eyes become two dark balls.

"You're a trustee of Social Justice Poor Society which owns Social Justice Publishing Co. which issues *Social Justice* magazine," I explained, "and you also audit the books of the Social Justice Publishing Co. That's why I came to see you."

"I don't see why I should make any statements——"

"Aren't you the auditor?"

"Yes, I handle the records at the Shrine."

"That's why I came to see you. Social Justice Poor Society is a public organization which controls *Social Justice* magazine which in turn is collecting money from the public——"

"I don't care to answer any questions," she said, her eyes big and black behind her spectacles.

"Surely you have no objection to telling me when you were elected trustee of an organization devoted to aiding the poor and destitute?"

She shook her head and swallowed hard. "I can't answer any questions. Why do you come to my house? The place to see me is at the Shrine. My work is there. All my records are there."

"I was at the Shrine but you had left. I still don't understand why you decline to tell me when—approximately will do—you were elected trustee of the Poor Society."

She motioned nervously with her hands and shook her head.

"I'll be wanting to see the other trustees, too. Will I be able to find them at the Shrine?"

"Yes, we all work there."

"Let's see, how many other trustees of the Poor Society are there?"

"I don't know," she said hesitantly, shaking her head slowly.

"Aren't there three—you, Bernice Marcinkiewicz, and Marie Rhodes?"

"I don't know," she repeated with a worried shrug.

"There are only three trustees of a big publishing company and you don't know the other two associated with you as owners of the business?"

"We have several organizations up there,"

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she said. "It's a little complicated. I don't know which ones they're trustees of without looking up the records. I'd have to see those records."

"Those records show that you're a trustee of the publishing business—and you're one of the three owners?"

"I guess so," she said.

"What is the circulation of *Social Justice* now——?"

"Oh, I wouldn't know that."

"Have you met with the editors lately to decide on policy——?"

"Oh, no. I have nothing to do with that——"

"But you're one of the three owners of the magazine——"

"Oh, please——" she interrupted. "Please, I can't answer any questions. If you wish to see me, you will have to come to the Shrine. My records are all there and—I'll tell Father you wish to see him."

"But Father Coughlin is not an officer or director of the corporation which owns *Social Justice*. You and two other girls are the owners, you know."

She motioned bewilderedly with her hands. "Please. I don't know what the records show. I'd have to look at them."

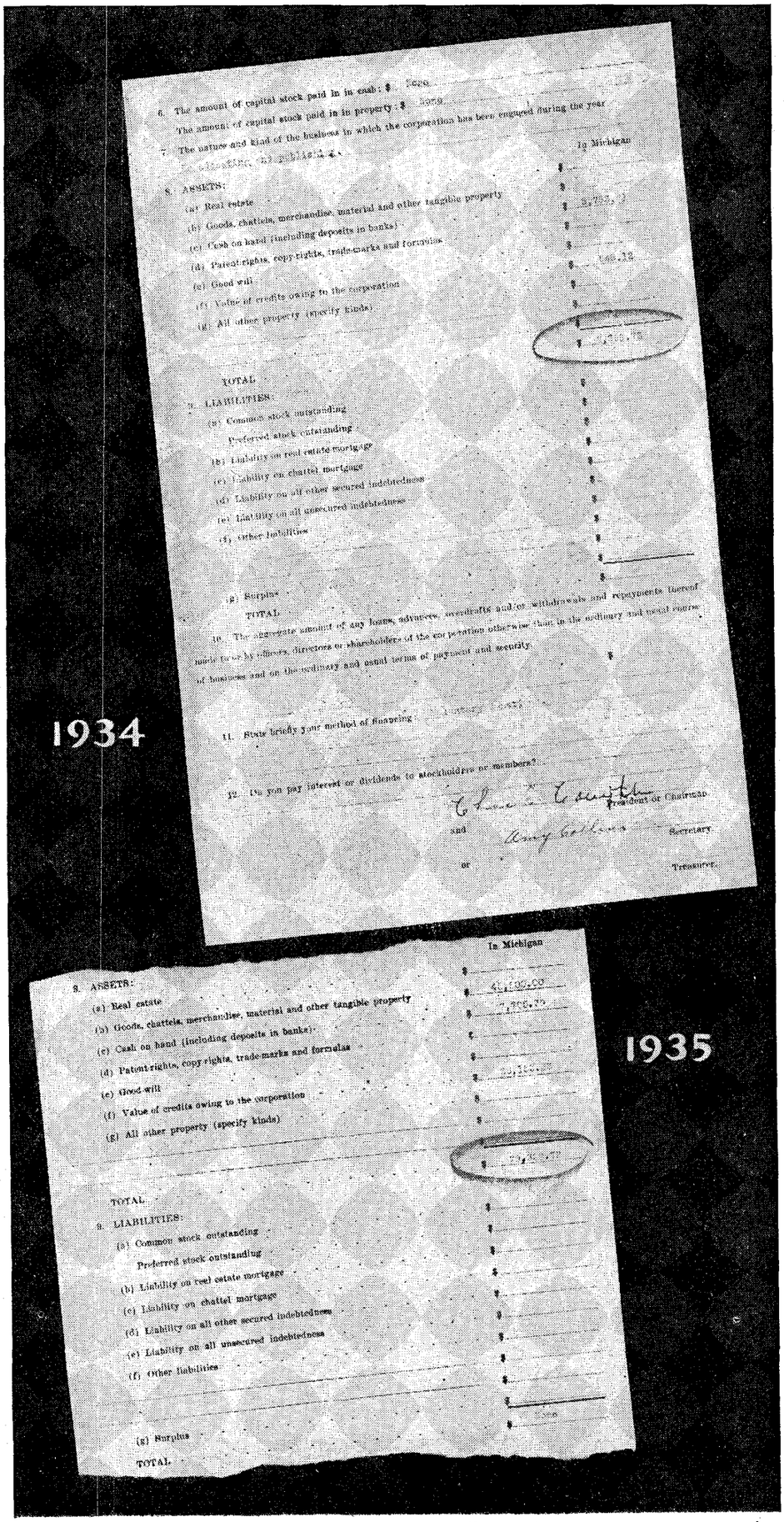
I really felt sorry for this woman who, in the process of holding down her $20 a week job, had been picked as one of the dummy "trustees" of Silver Charlie's private publishing business. She all too obviously didn't know that she was being played for the "fall guy" and I left her in peace.

As I proceeded with my study of his activities I came across so many statements the radio priest had made which were entirely contradicted by the things he did that, before I conclude this series, it seems to me we should again examine the statement he made to Ruth Mugglebee, his biographer. *(Father Coughlin, the Radio Priest;* Garden City Publishing Co.) The biographer quotes him as saying to her:

> Do you know how I would live if I renounced religion and was illogical enough to disbelieve in the life beyond—in the real life? Why, if I threw away and denounced my faith, I would surround myself with the most adroit hijackers, learn every trick of the highest banking and stock manipulations, avail myself of the laws under which to hide my own crimes, create a smokescreen to throw into the eyes of men, and—believe me, I would become the world's champion crook.

The two important points in this statement concern the creation of a "smokescreen to throw into the eyes of men" and learning "every trick of the highest banking and stock manipulations." Let us see if there are any grounds for believing that he has followed this policy to hide his real activities:

1. He created an organization called the League of the Little Flower, whose function was to collect money from the public to maintain his church and to help build a new one. He used money thus collected to gamble on the stockmarket while he was publicly denouncing those who played the market.



GET RICH QUICK COUGHLIN. *The silver-tongued Wallingford never ran up a shoestring like this. The "charitable and religious" Radio League of the Little Flower, Inc., and other Coughlin rackets turn a pretty penny on anti-Semitism incorporated and anti-New Deal un-*

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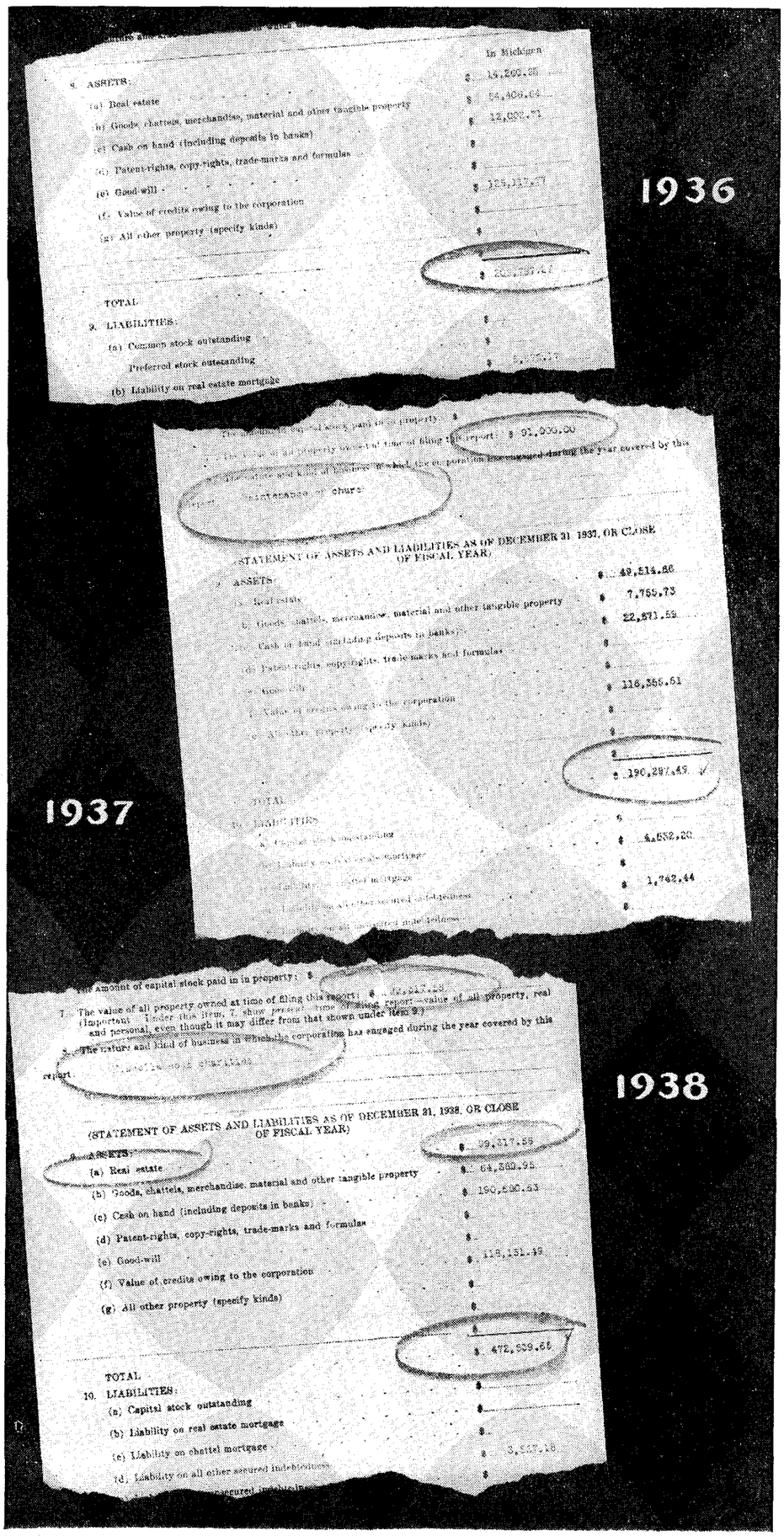

limited. From $6,298.73 reported in 1934 to $472,539.65 in 1938 is quite remarkable. All this is controlled by Silver Charlie and two clerical assistants. The Roman Catholic Diocese of Detroit doesn't know how he got it.

2. He raised money for the Radio League of the Little Flower upon solemn assurances that it was a "non-political organization" and then used some of that money to build a privately controlled political organization.

3. He created a corporation with a Christian charitable objective of aiding the poor and the destitute, called it the Social Justice Poor Society, but never lifted a finger for the poor and the destitute. The corporation was used as a holding company for his privately owned publishing business.

4. While speaking and writing as a "friend of labor," he secretly tried to split labor's union ranks.

5. While denouncing Nazi propaganda over the air and in his magazine, he was disseminating Nazi propaganda emanating from the German Ministry of Propaganda.

I could go on with this list but I mention these five points only by way of illustration. I believe they can reasonably be regarded as creating smokescreens to hide what Coughlin really did.

Let us consider "learning the highest tricks of banking and stock manipulations":

1. He established corporations which raised several millions of dollars from the public and controlled these corporations through employees acting as dummy officers and directors.

2. The books of these corporations were sewed up so no one outside his little coterie would know the sums taken in and what happened to them.

3. He claimed tax exemption for his profit-making corporation on the grounds that it was really owned by a non-profit-making corporation.

4. He evaded his archbishop's request, made on papal instructions, that *Social Justice* magazine be truthful, by asserting that his publication, whose offices were in a Catholic church, was a private business which had nothing to do with the church.

5. He used monies which the public contributed to one corporation he controlled to aid another corporation he controlled.

These, too, could be extended, but again I offer them only as illustrations. I believe that such actions can reasonably be considered "tricks."

Certainly one thing is obvious: the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin of Royal Oak, Mich., has collected several millions of dollars from the public, which was under the impression it was aiding him in "Christian work." If there is nothing wrong with his many strange activities, the radio priest should voluntarily open his books to public examination, explain the various transactions, what is behind his dissemination of Nazi propaganda and his anti-union efforts. This procedure would eliminate any unjust suspicion not only of his motives but of his financial transactions.

If, on the other hand, Coughlin thinks it wise not to do this voluntarily, then it seems to me that it becomes the duty of the law enforcing agencies to do it for him. The millions of people who have been sending him money and who believe he is actuated by "Christian" and "patriotic" motives should know what sinister forces motivate him and expose them to the full glare of public knowledge.

JOHN L. SPIVAK.

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William Gropper

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Background of the Anti-Soviet War

Turning the war between two capitalist groups into an onslaught against socialism and the people. The admissions of tory spokesmen. The people resist.

THE war in Europe has now entered a new phase: conversion from a war between two imperialist groups into a war of united imperialisms against world socialism and its state power, the Soviet Union. Essentially this second phase was always implicit in the first. Today it dominates the entire course of the war and of policy in the neutral capitalist countries. The major conflict between socialism and capitalism cuts across and largely determines the development of all inter-imperialist conflicts.

In 1918-21 world imperialism threw a noose around the country which was the first to have the effrontery to organize a society without capitalists, without exploitation, without masters and slaves. That noose was woven of such fine materials as Rumania, Poland, Latvia, Estonia, and Finland. Pulling the other end of the rope were such gentlemen as Churchill, Clemenceau, and Wilson, acting of course in the name of democracy and Western civilization. Despite the heavy odds against them, the Russian people proved strong and brave enough, with the support of the working class of other countries, to loosen that rope. But thanks to the defeat of the revolution in Central Europe and the Baltic, the noose itself remained. Capitalist encirclement of socialism became the foundation of all the power relationships not only between the socialist and capitalist worlds, but among the major capitalist countries.

ESCAPING THE NOOSE

When the Red Army marched into the western Ukraine and Byelo Russia on Sept. 17, 1939, it made the first break in the encircling noose. The mutual assistance pacts with Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania marked the second break; the Red Army's advance into Finland is the third. The fingers of the gentlemen who hold the other end of the rope—though their names may have changed, they represent the same imperialist interests—had begun itching again. For the Soviet Union to have remained passive and awaited the attack might have won it the sympathy of those liberals who never fail to lament the triumph of evil over good, but would have lost it all the gains of the revolution. The USSR, though a great power, is still only a territorial one-sixth as compared to five-sixths of hostile capitalism. When the tides of destruction are moving, to stand still is to perish.

We must understand this war that is being fought in Europe. We must understand it if we are to win durable peace and a wider freedom for the people of all lands. It is a commonplace to call this an imperialist war. But that is only part of the story. It is an imperialist war differing profoundly from the war of 1914-18 in that it is being fought in a world in which anti-imperialist socialism has conquered a territory greater than the whole of the rest of Europe. It is, moreover, an imperialist war coming not at the beginning of the general crisis of capitalism, but at a very advanced stage when the bacteria of decay within the old system have multiplied manifold. The capitalist order is sick unto death, but its very fever summons up enormous destructive powers. In September 1932 the Executive Committee of the Communist International declared that the relative stabilization of capitalism had ended and there had come a period of *"transition* to a new round of big clashes between classes and between states, a new round of wars and revolutions." We have had the round of wars spiraling into the big war—strangely uneventful—between Britain and France on one side and Germany on the other. And with the war, social revolution, permanent liberation from all wars, has been placed on the order of the day in Europe.

TWO KINDS OF WAR

That is what has made both imperialist armies so curiously musclebound. That is what dictates the efforts, not altogether hidden, to end the present phase of the war as quickly as possible and convert it into a war against the USSR. To understand this phantom conflict one must see it not merely as a simple imperialist war of the old type for the reshuffling of the imperialist spoils—it is that too—but as a preliminary battle to determine the lineup in the *class war* of European and possibly American capitalism against the soviet state and the social revolution in Europe and Asia. These two types of war are, of course, interwoven and the Soviet Union has very skillfully utilized for its own advantage the real antagonisms between Anglo-French and German imperialism. But cutting across this struggle for booty and power is the conflict over the policy to be pursued toward the Soviet Union. It was not Nazi aggression, which Britain and France encouraged, that caused them to declare war on Germany, but Nazi abandonment of aggression against the USSR. "The war against 'Hitlerism' is war against the orientation of Nazi Germany to peace with the Soviet Union," wrote R. Palme Dutt in the November *Labour Monthly* (London). *"Thus this war, so far from being an anti-fascist war, is objectively the preliminary stage for an anti-Soviet war."*

British imperialism was the chief instigator and organizer of the first intervention against the Soviet Union. That intervention virtually ended with the signing of the Anglo-Soviet commercial treaty on March 16, 1921. But this was in the nature of an armed truce between socialism and capitalism. It did not by any means end the efforts of the British ruling class to destroy socialism and assure the triumph of reaction throughout Europe and Asia. This has been the central aim of British policy ever since, Britain being that country with the most farflung empire and hence most conscious of the need of suppressing democratic movements everywhere. But, as Stalin wrote in 1927: "England always has preferred wars fought with the hands of others. And now and then she has actually found fools to pick her chestnuts from the fire." With the defeat of the German revolution in 1923 began systematic attempts to enlist Germany in the anti-Soviet camp. Baldwin and other British tories offered the Germans the bait of the vast Soviet market from which to extract the sums to pay the reparations tribute to the Allies. Soviet leaders were of course fully aware of these maneuvers. In his report to the Fourteenth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in May 1925, Stalin said: "The British conservatives wish, at one and the same time, to maintain the status quo as far as Germany is concerned [i.e., the provisions of the Versailles Treaty] and to lead Germany into the field against the Soviet Union. Are they not asking rather too much?"

IMPERIALIST CONTRADICTIONS

In Germany there were influential elements not adverse to playing the British game, but they were up against an apparently insuperable obstacle: the labor movement and the growing strength of the German Communist Party. In addition, the Soviet government, taking advantage of the conflicts between the victorious and the vanquished powers, established close economic and political relations with Germany on the basis of common opposition to Versailles. Britain was compelled to depend on the border states in Eastern Europe and the Baltic and on Japan to help execute plans for the second intervention. These plans were worked out together with the French General Staff. They called for sabotage, wrecking, and espionage by a counter-revolutionary group within the USSR as preparation for an armed attack through the border states, scheduled for 1930. At the trial of the counter-revolutionary Ramsin group in Moscow at the end of 1930, which I had the good fortune to attend, the full details of the interventionist plans were revealed. War was to be provoked through border incidents; two armies, commanded by the czarist general, Lukomsky, were to strike—one at the Ukraine through Rumania and Poland and the other at Leningrad through the Baltic states. Significantly, Finland was cast for an important role. As one defendant put it, Finland "had apparently great experience in provoking all sorts of frontier incidents." The British fleet

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was to assist in the Black Sea and the Gulf of Finland.

This conspiracy miscarried for a number of reasons, among them the fact that instead of the expected economic collapse of the USSR, its economic and military power increased despite the best efforts of the distinguished wreckers and their foreign paymasters. The British turned to encouraging Japan. When the Japanese seized Manchuria in 1931, Britain prevented the League of Nations from taking any restraining action. The Japanese attack marked the actual beginning of the second imperialist war. For the anti-Soviet campaign in Europe, however, the question of Germany was decisive. It was evident that the border states, though indispensable as springboards for the intervention, could not, in view of the mounting strength of the USSR, furnish adequate fighting forces even if supplemented by the remnants of the White Guard armies. But Germany, under the impact of the economic crisis and the popular hatred of Versailles, was stumbling toward social revolution. The destruction of German bourgeois democracy, under which Communism was flourishing, became the essential prerequisite for both the salvation of German capitalism and the destruction of the socialist democracy of the Soviet Union. With the connivance of right-wing Socialist leaders, who refused to unite the working class, German finance-capital, which was economically dependent on Anglo-French and American capital, gutted by gradual stages the Weimar republic through Bruening, von Papen, Schleicher, Hitler.

NEW RELATIONS

The accession of the Nazis meant the triumph of the most anti-democratic, anti-Soviet, pro-war elements in German political life. It transformed the relations between Germany and the Soviet Union on the one hand and Germany and Britain on the other. Britain, which had fought the first world war to break the power of German imperialism, now set about rebuilding that power in preparation for the second war, this time against the Soviet Union. This collaboration in ventures which undermined Britain's own imperialist interests and directly menaced France can be explained on no other ground than a choice by the British financial and industrial grandees of the "lesser evil": fascism and an enhanced German imperialism rather than democracy and the continued existence of the stronghold of world socialism. The real purpose of the encouragement given to Germany's eastward thrust was admitted by the London *Economist* in its March 18, 1939, issue:

> It is not surprising that Stalin, in his address last week to the Eighteenth Congress of the All-Union Bolshevik Party, should have denounced the peace-loving states of Europe for doing little to reinforce peace by their actions. The Soviet leader went so far as to accuse France and Britain of being content to let the Nazi fury spend itself on the soil and peoples of Eastern Europe, and ultimately Russia, in order to buy a sordid security for themselves. . . . The facts of the past twelve months offer no evidence to deny that the Western democracies' policy, *faute de mieux* (for lack of something better), has been to encourage the *Drang nach Osten*.

As for Finland—"brave little Finland," as the Socialist Norman Thomas and the fascist Hearst call the White Guard Finnish regime (*Socialist Call,* December 16, New York *Journal and American,* December 11)—its role in the interventionist plans of British and German imperialism did not end with 1930. In September 1935 there took place in East Prussia a meeting at which Goering and von Ribbentrop represented Germany; Goemboes, then premier, represented Hungary; General Fabrici and Prince Radziwill, Poland; and General Mannerheim, the well known "liberator," Finland. R. Palme Dutt, in his book *World Politics: 1918-1936* (page 296), quotes the London *Times* of Oct. 15, 1935, as declaring that the aim of this meeting was the creation of "a future German-Polish-Hungarian-Italian-Bulgarian — even possibly Rumanian—bloc." The *Times* story said:

> It seems to be feared in some conservative circles not only that air arrangements have been discussed, but also that naval and military ideas have been exchanged; and that Bulgaria, Finland (whose strategical position for naval operations is talked of) and even Rumania—since the Soviet-Rumanian rapprochement began to look like a false alarm—has been drawn in. Even Japan is suspected of figuring in these dreams of the future.

The later episodes: the Nazi rape of Austria and the assassination, with British and French aid, of Spain and Czechoslovakia are too well known to need recapitulation here. The idea that Chamberlain expected or desired Hitler to refrain from going beyond the limits set in the Munich agreement is naive in the extreme. No effort was made to implement the Anglo-French guarantees given to Czechoslovakia and on Nov. 1, 1938, Chamberlain blandly told the House of Commons:

> Geographically, Germany must occupy the dominant position in relation to the states of Central and Southeastern Europe. I do not see any reason why we should expect to see a fundamental change in these regions. Far from this country being concerned, we have no wish to block Germany out of these countries.

In all its calculations the Chamberlain government conceived of its relations with Hitler Germany as those of a respectable, well groomed gang leader with his star triggerman. Temporarily the triggerman was getting all the loot, but in the end the gang leader would take the lion's share. The differences that arose within the British ruling class over Chamberlain's appeasement policy expressed the fear of certain sections that the gangster was becoming so powerful that he might become the boss. Arch-conservatives like Churchill and Duff Cooper, acutely sensitive to the menace to British imperialist interests, pressed for an alliance with the Soviet Union, calculating that Britain could use the USSR to curb Hitler and then use a submissive Hitler or some substitute fuehrer to smash the Soviet. But there was one thing the dominant London financial interests represented by the Chamberlain government feared even more than a Hitler doublecross and war with Germany: a peace resting on socialist foundations, secured by the economic and military power of the USSR and the organized activity of the democratic masses in all countries.

POLAND'S ROLE

The plans of British imperialism were based on German-Polish collaboration against the Soviet Union as the keystone of the interventionist arch. That is why Poland was permitted after Munich to help itself to a slice of the bleeding body of Czechoslovakia. When Hitler seized the remnants of Czechoslovakia and turned against the semi-fascist Polish regime which had been his ally, the British government began strongly to fear that German fascism might refuse to undertake a suicidal war against the USSR. Then Chamberlain made his first overtures to the Soviet Union. The negotiations in Moscow had as their purpose to placate public opinion in England, and at the same time *frighten Hitler into carrying through the original anti-Soviet plans.* The negotiations also served as a front behind which new overtures were made (the Hudson $5,000,000,000 loan proposal) both to Hitler and to certain anti-Hitler elements in the Nazi ruling clique, the army and industrial circles. In his New York *Herald Tribune* column of September 26 Walter Lippmann, who has close connections with Thomas W. Lamont of the House of Morgan, which in turn is linked with the ruling circles of British finance-capital, wrote that "the time may come when the German army will find that Hitler's war in the West means that Germany's 'living space' and perhaps even Germany itself must fall under Russian influence."

> We may then see the fruition of very tentative and unofficial conversations [he continued] *that took place in the months before the war began,* conversations with army officers and conservative Germans, looking toward some sort of Allied assurance to the German army that if ever it disposed of Hitler, it would be supported in defending Germany against Bolshevization.

This is an admission that during those very months when Chamberlain professed to have had a change of heart and was presumably seeking an alliance with the USSR against Nazi aggression, he was conspiring with fascist elements in Germany to ensure that the aggression would be turned against the Soviet Union.

Hitler, playing his own game, doublecrossed Chamberlain and pulled down one of the main pillars of Nazi ideology by abandoning the anti-Soviet crusade. The USSR at the same time ensured itself against immediate attack by signing the non-aggression pact

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with Germany. In March Stalin had warned that "the big and dangerous political game started by the supporters of the policy of non-intervention may end in a serious fiasco for them." The fiasco had come. But the British ruling class, which had gambled on war—against the Soviet Union—went ahead with its war plans. It became a war to compel German imperialism to redeem its anti-Soviet promissory note. For this purpose Poland, despite the pledge of aid that had been given her, was callously sacrificed, as Austria, Spain, and Czechoslovakia had been sacrificed. "Stating it with brutal frankness," wrote Raymond Daniell in a London dispatch to the New York *Times* of September 16, "Poland is o be left to her fate. The Allied democracies already have turned deaf ears to the Polish pleas for planes with which they believe they might stem the rush of the German military machine." The fact is that even at that late date the Anglo-French war plotters hoped to lure Hitler into collision with the Soviet Union. The Red Army's march prevented that.

It is now being said that Soviet military action against the White Guard Ryti-Mannerheim regime in Finland is to blame for the world crusade to consolidate an anti-Soviet front. On this question there is no need to indulge in any which-came-first-the-chicken-or-the-egg metaphysics. The history of the past twenty-two and more particularly the past six years demonstrates who was the aggressor and who the victim or potential victim in the relations between the Soviet Union and the capitalist world. But even if we confine ourselves to the more recent period, it is a fact that long before the Red Army moved into Finland, the British and American press began openly pressing for a deal between Britain and Germany for joint action against the USSR. In England such statements began to appear shortly after the Red Army marched into the western Ukraine and Byelo Russia. In the United States, aside from the Hearst press, which always leads the way in such matters, Walter Lippmann first projected this thesis in his column of September 26—when negotiations with the first Baltic state, Estonia, were only beginning. He elaborated the idea with the proper piety in his October 12 column, just as the first Finnish delegation arrived in Moscow. This was taken up the very next day by the New York *Times* and Dorothy Thompson, while William Allen White brought the United States into the picture by arguing that the arms embargo should be lifted in order that this country might sell arms to the Scandinavian countries in case of "any serious military or economic difference with Russia."

AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

The new feature in the situation is the rapid emergence of American imperialism to joint leadership with Britain of the anti-Soviet interventionist drive. The aggressive role of the United States even at an early stage of the Finnish crisis moved Raymond Clapper, Washington commentator for the Scripps-Howard press, to write: "This government appears to be reacting to Moscow more quickly and with more vigor than toward Berlin, and with more heat. It is almost as if a record were being made against the future." (New York *World-Telegram,* November 4.) The Roosevelt administration, in fact, has thrown overboard its former policy of giving support—limited and hesitant though it was—to the peace forces of the world and is actively organizing the forces moving toward an anti-Soviet war. Without consulting the American people it is collaborating with Downing Street's puppet League

The Plane

A paradoxical December afternoon
when spring with little breasts crept into
Winter's cold sheets and lingered for a day—
From where we stood on our high stoop, the little park,
so scrawny-green in the slum, tinkled
with bright arpeggios of children's shouts:
lancing with joy more dismal adult moods
till gloom, ludicrous as balloons, exploded
in the scintillating skirts and body-whirl,
glowing our faces like the pretzel-man who sold
his tortured indigestion by the rail.

and then above the greenish-blue horizon
I saw that speck, innocent as Maypoles danced around,
yet at its sight the blue flesh of the sky
no longer pulsed soft to the bachelor eye.
What was it? bird? or chimney-soot?
or kite of invisible boy above the roofs?
What thing had come from behind the water's edge?
What was that scratch etched on the gray-plate sky?
and now the scratch had split . . . and now two wings
and from nowhere and everywhere vibrating in the blood
a hum organic as the pulse of fear. . . .
Why don't you run? you child with eyes like flashing mirrors?
the plane is roaring toward . . . why don't you hide
now in the blessed interval? there still is time!
and you, John, unemployed, fing'ring the furry bud,
quick! flat on face! or delve in subway mouth!
the plane is roaring toward . . . lord over us
lord over you and me and all our insect ways
lord over laughter and our tangled skein of dream
lord over what we are and what we seem
the plane is overhead . . .
then like a curse
to keep imprisoned in my eye's bright bowl,
back back I bent my head until the world
had dropped as shoreline below rail—and held that plane:
cleaving the air while small beneath its struts
a bird raced with that buzzing speck of steel:
that flying motor: the man sitting upon it
goggled and blinking in the airy crests,
and I and the dancing child and the fat balloons
mere perforations on a film that reeled
beneath his wing—the winds thru wires rushing—
I saw that angel of Icarus, shrouded in the fog,
minister bright love of exploding petals
on streets of Madrid—and sandy geysers fell—

The plane was gone
but suddenly the sky's blue canopy had sagged:
the poles kicked over: the smiling tent gashed:
the air sharp with flying knives
the afternoon hanging down in shreds
and only a brute leer grinning across the sky
horizon to horizon darkening us—

I remember the children laughed when it went over
and pointed at the sky, and someone yawned,
yet hanging in the air
the high unbearable harmonic of our fear—
O what shall we say to those who ride in planes?
we who breathe in the intervals of bombs?
we ground-moles crawling between the crackling borders?
we whose boundaries are the backs of electric cats?
what rising gusts of our youth shall send us spinning
in flickers of sun-spokes there in the highest reaches
airwashed and clean as songs of birds unpinioned!

SIDNEY ALEXANDER.

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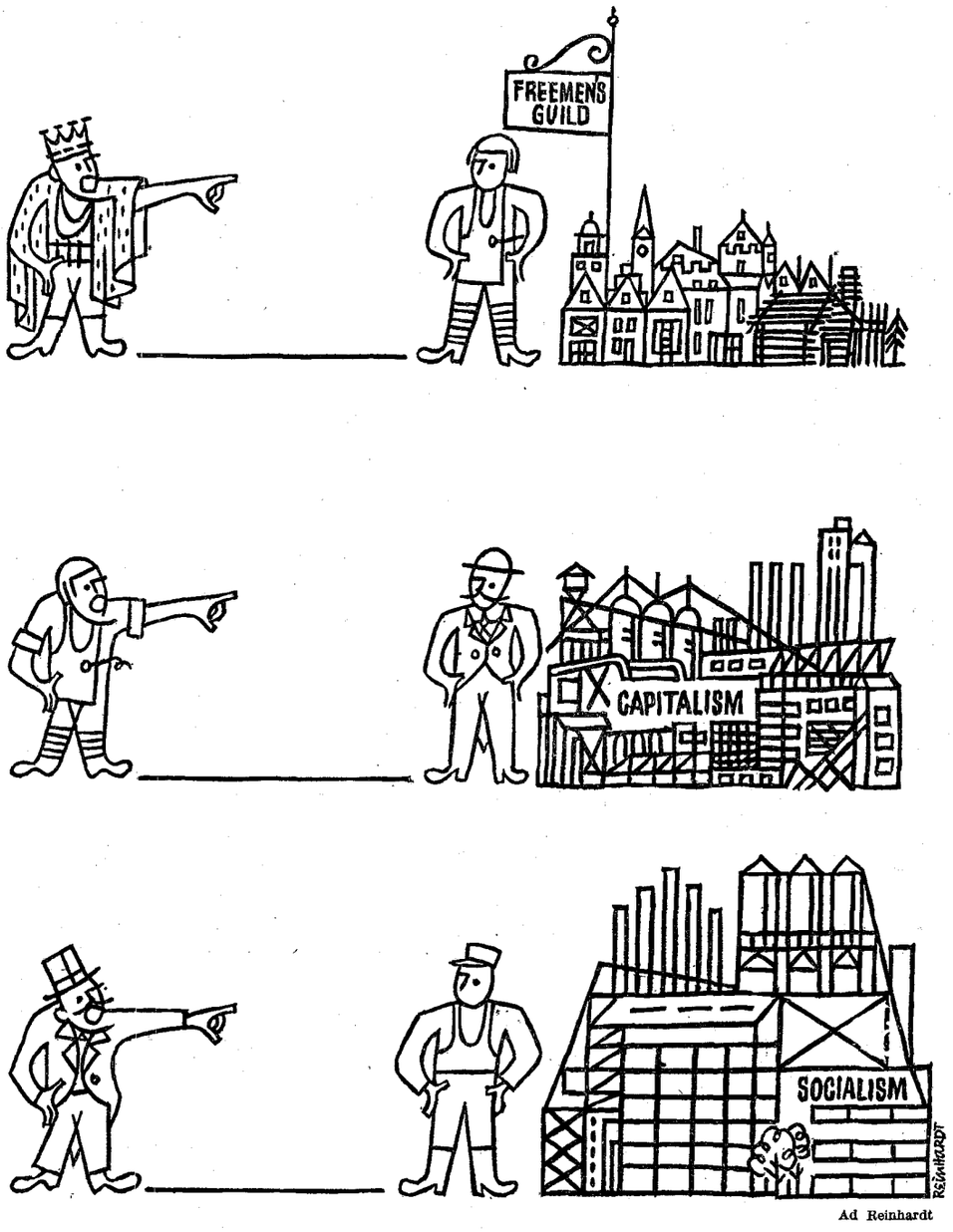
of Nations in providing economic and *military* aid for Finland. This aid, the New York *Times* of December 16 openly proclaims, is to be modeled on the help that fascist Germany and Italy gave Franco. This is not neutrality. It is a Wall Street war program. As much is admitted by Ludwig Lore of the pseudo-liberal New York *Post,* who has been demanding an anti-Soviet war since the Red Army marched into the western Ukraine and Byelo Russia. He wrote with great satisfaction in the *Post* of December 18 that "the Allies and most of the neutral states, *taking a leaf out of the book of the fascist states,* have launched an undeclared war against the Soviet Union. . . ." (My italics.)

The Socialist press, both of the "left" and the right, has been in the front ranks of the saviors of Western civilization. The December 9 issue of the *Socialist Call,* official organ of the Socialist Party, urged sending arms to Finland for war on Russia, though in the Far East the Socialists have favored a strict arms embargo that would deny American arms to China. In the December 9 issue of the weekly *New Leader,* published by the rightwing Social Democratic Federation, Willi Schlamm wrote:

> If the Western democracies were right in accepting, even begging for Russia's aid, then I cannot see why they will be wrong when and if they accept Italy's possible military action against the Berlin-Moscow axis.

On October 22 Alfred Duff Cooper, former first lord of the admiralty, on his arrival here to function as one of Britain's chief propagandists, predicted a revolution in Germany. "I think it will be a revolution from the right, a conservative revolution. Very likely there will be a monarchical revival." (New York *Times,* October 23.) He made his meaning clearer in an interview in the December issue of *Current History.* There he said that Britain would find Goering acceptable in place of Hitler and would be willing to make peace with the No. 2 Nazi.

On November 8 Britain missed the boat by eleven minutes. Had the assassination plot against Hitler succeeded and the Goering group taken over, that anti-Soviet consummation so devoutly wished for by the imperialists and their "Socialist" camp-followers might have become a fact. But the anti-Soviet war conspiracy, whose twin fulcrum is in London and New York, continues on the move. Finland happens to be the alias under which this firm of peace assassins is at present operating. "With Britain and France increasingly committed to help Finland," wrote the *Times* in its leading editorial on December 20, "and Germany throwing her weight increasingly on the other side, the great question now overhanging all Europe is whether two separate wars will not merge into one." Germany is, in fact, the decisive lever. The struggle between socialism and capitalism will increasingly center around the struggle for Germany's future. Who will come after Hitler? Goering, say the City and Wall Street. But the German people are preparing their own answer. Beside them, closer than ever, stands the powerful USSR.



Ad Reinhardt

"You're a menace to civilization!"

One can well understand the anguished cries in certain high places because of the Soviet action in Finland. According to the well informed London publication, the *Week* (December 6), the organizers of the second intervention had expected the USSR to let matters ride. It was hoped that "by spring it would be possible to have secured a government in Sweden which would be willing to act against the Soviet Union and—more important still—it was believed that by then American aid to Sweden in military action against the Soviet Union would be secured."

The Soviet people are not waiting for the imperialists to catch the next boat. They recall the words of Stalin at the Seventeenth Congress of the Communist Party in January 1934:

> There can hardly be any doubt that such a war would be a very dangerous war for the bourgeoisie. It would be a very dangerous war not only because the peoples of the USSR would fight to the very death to preserve the gains of the revolution; it would be a very dangerous war for the bourgeoisie also because such a war will be waged not only at the fronts, but also in the rear of the enemy. The bourgeoisie need have no doubt that the numerous friends of the working class of the USSR in Europe and Asia will be sure to strike a blow in the rear at their oppressors who commenced a criminal war against the fatherland of the working class of all countries. And let not Messieurs the bourgeoisie blame us if on the morrow of the outbreak of such a war they will miss certain of the governments that are near and dear to them and which are today happily ruling "by grace of God."

A. B. MAGIL.

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Chamberlain's Fourth Reich

The interesting plans of the Deutsche Freiheitspartei to overthrow Hitler and make Germany a British colony like India. Rauschning as the new fuehrer.

London.

IN CHANCELLERIES and ministries, in banks and boardrooms, premiers and financiers mention it in whispers. With conspiratorial glances they pronounce its name: revolution. With reverential awe they pledge fealty to its leader—Neville Chamberlain, professional revolutionist at the age of seventy after a lifetime of respectable arms-making. In the few months since the outbreak of the war, the English prime minister has become in fact the world's foremost advocate of rebellion for Germany. He has discovered and is exploiting some of the Nazis' iniquities; they make good war propaganda anyway. England must save the Germans from Hitler's further oppression.

Publicly, Chamberlain has not been so frank in defining the kind of government he wants for a conquered Reich and in what ways it must be "trustworthy." However, his silence does not betoken ignorance on these points. There has been talk in Conservative Party circles of monarchist restorations in Austria and the Reich as part of a second Versailles, and the Hapsburgs have won at least tacit Paris support for the Vienna job. But as regards a Hohenzollern Germany, the monarchist gossip is just so much eyewash. The newspapers here, however, have recently been full of references to a "German Freedom Party" (the Deutsche Freiheitspartei) which has the avowed aim of overthrowing Hitler and setting up a government of its own. It's an even money bet among those used to watching the antics of a press which doesn't need a Goebbels to make it hew to the line that this Deutsche Freiheitspartei is just what the Chamberlain doctor ordered.

WHAT IS THE DFP?

Exactly what, and who, is the Deutsche Freiheitspartei? The name sounds good. It even sounds leftwing, particularly to those who think it is the group which has been running the German Freedom Radio Station since that memorable January day in 1937 when "this is the transmitter of the anti-fascists speaking to you" came out of the German ether. But any connection the DFP may have with the station is an altogether different story, which I shall deal with later. Until the last few weeks, the DFP was almost anonymous. It was founded at a secret conference in Germany in the fall of 1937, and is composed of monarchist, Junker, high lay Catholic, Stahlhelm, and a few renegade Social Democratic elements. The party has no mass following, cannot have one, and in fact repudiates the idea of trying to secure any. It is utterly dependent on French and English bayonets, and the Chamberlain behind those bayonets will not be disappointed this time as he was by the Nazis, who got out of hand. So except for its repudiation of anti-Semitism the DFP is, if anything, more reactionary than Hitler, because it cannot refuse to do London's bidding. A news report from America a few weeks ago named members of a German "government" the party intended to set up in London in the near future.

The report was premature, but in naming the men slated for office it brought to light some of the DFP's curious believers in freedom. One is Hermann Rauschning, Nazi president of the Danzig Senate until his resignation in January 1934 and author of *The Revolution of Nihilism,* a virulent rightwing attack on Nazism. Gottfried Treviranus, now in Canada, is another. Herr Treviranus was leader of the Volkskonservative Partei, the left wing of the rightwing Hugenberg Nationalists, who were absorbed by the Nazis soon after Hitler came to power; he was also one of Bruening's Cabinet ministers. Others of the group are Dr. Hermann Wirth, centrist premier in the Second Reich, and Rudolph Breitscheidt, once a Social Democrat. Dr. Otto Strasser, leader of the "Black Front" conservative opposition to Hitler and a brother of Gregor Strasser—the lad who wrote the Nazis' program only to be executed in the June 1934 purge for his pains—has just brought his organization into the DFP.

ITS PROGRAM

The DFP has a ten point program which is nicely filled with democratic words and even proposes the division of Prussia into several small parts to prevent the nasty breeding ground of the Junkers from dominating the Fourth Reich. Just how democratic the party really is, however, can be judged not only from its leaders but from remarks one person high in its councils made in an interview here. The reason he gave for having to leave Germany in a hurry boiled down to talking too much. He hasn't learned his lesson. Once Hitler is out of the way, he declared, the DFP intends to establish a provisional government, which will be a military dictatorship to uproot Nazism. It will include representatives of all German political parties and the trade unions from Conservative to Social Democratic. Several Social Democrats are already in the group. After the chaos surrounding the overthrow of Hitler has been ended, a general election will be held to launch the regular government. Will the Communists be represented in this democratic provisional government? Oh, no, and we may have to fight them. With arms? Of course. We are very much afraid that the Red Army will march into Germany in the event of the collapse of the Hitler government, to help the Communists. But won't this make Germany a battleground? It might—we are quite prepared for that, he said.

In the same breath the DFP guarantees inviolability of person and proposes to shoot Communists. It is true, of course, that Hitler rode to power on similar anti-Bolshevik pledges to his former confreres in the British Conservative Party, but Hitler had a mass following which has enabled him eventually to win some sort of independence from London. The DFP has not got that and does not want it. Let the higher-up explain:

> We intend to overthrow Hitler by a revolution by people at present high in the Nazi regime. A popular uprising is impossible because of the police power in Germany. [Which happens to have this tiny grain of truth in it: that the conservatives who might try to put an end to Hitler on their own account would certainly cooperate with Hitler in suppressing popular discontent.] We have quite a bit of strength in the army, though the Gestapo has been forcing many of our members into dangerous posts at the front to kill them off. We have lost thirty that way. No, von Fritsch [the general who didn't get along with the Nazis and was killed or executed on the Polish front] was not one of our people, though he was in sympathy with us, and we would accept him as one of the leaders of the Germany we desire.

If the names of the people in Germany he let slip as people in touch with the DFP are not an exaggeration (there is no reason why they should be, and besides they check with other data), then the DFP does indeed have some excellent connections. There's not much sense in passing the names on as yet, however. Though the DFP published *Das Wahre Deutschland* ("The True Germany"), a monthly for sympathetic refugees—which was suspended at the start of the war because of the stoppage of funds *from* Germany—it actually has built no refugee organization, as other Hitler-opposition groups have. It doesn't believe in them. The magazine, which was launched in January 1938, was rather unusual in one way: it contained only one signed article in all twenty numbers, and that by Rauschning. The DFP explains that anonymity is preferred; a better explanation would be that no outstanding German intellectual figures choose to be identified with it—a measure of the party's standing.

FREEDOM RADIO STATION

A most curious aspect of the DFP is its possible relationship with the German Freedom Radio Station, operated by the German People's Front since the Communist Party presented it with the station in April 1937. A station signing itself the Freiheitssender has been broadcasting material in the last six weeks, including violent anti-Soviet diatribes which no People's Front station would ever

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carry. Yet spokesmen in London for the German People's Front insist that the Freiheitssender is still in operation. At the same time they charge faking of its broadcasts, but they refuse to be more explicit than that.

The DFP, on the other hand, asserts flatly that the Freiheitssender has not been operating during these weeks. It refuses to say more than that. Perhaps two radio stations are in operation, at least one of which is in Germany, or the real Freiheitssender has been located and ended by the Nazis and only the fake is carrying on. No material which only a People's Front transmitter would broadcast has been picked up in recent weeks. However, this is not conclusive, as radio jamming by the Nazis has been so well carried out that it is almost impossible to hear anything on the wave length on which the station or stations broadcast. This jamming also makes impossible the radio direction finding experiments which I had hoped to carry out. There is a suspicion that the DFP or someone in cahoots with it is doing the faking.

Aside from a wordy comment on the restoration of free trade, the DFP has no economic program. Anything it might say would be sure to arouse even more antagonism than silence will. It does not desire a mass basis, but it doesn't want mass opposition either. It prefers to be something on the order of a secret society. Let's work to make it stay that way—a secret among reactionary Germans and their reactionary French and English friends.

GERALD GRIFFIN, JR.

The New Deal and 1940

AN EDITORIAL

TRAILING clouds of war, 1940 thunders into view. A grim and not so happy new year greets the world. In a few days the new session of the Seventy-sixth Congress opens. The American people look to it for action. They want to stay out of war, including anti-Soviet war. They want to hold fast to the Bill of Rights. They want enough food, clothing, and shelter to make human dignity something more than a phrase. Those ideals were in the past embodied in large measure in the New Deal program. They are still embodied in that program, but the administration is no longer among its champions. Since the outbreak of the war there has been a striking reversal in New Deal policy. President Roosevelt has abandoned position after position and is moving rapidly toward complete unity with the Wall Street plunderbund whom he formerly denounced.

In his message to the special session of Congress last September President Roosevelt said: "Our acts must be guided by one single hard-headed thought—keeping America out of this war." Then the arms embargo was lifted, a step toward involving America in war on the side of the Allies. Other acts, such as the attempt to transfer American ships to Panamanian registry, have been in the same direction. Far from keeping America out of war, our government has now taken the lead in provoking a new one—against the Soviet Union. The lengths to which this has gone are indicated in the Dec. 11 issue of the *United States News:*

> It is not impossible, say realists in the national capital, that Prime Minister Chamberlain, with the hearty approval of President Roosevelt, is prepared to start action on a world union against Russia that will make the anti-Comintern alliance of Germany, Japan, Italy, Hungary, and Spain look like very small political potatoes.
>
> A major league is thought to be in the process of organization, whose members will be: the British Empire, France, Japan, the United States, most of Latin America, possibly Germany, Italy, Spain, the Balkan and Scandinavian nations, and Turkey. . . .
>
> Its purpose? Eventually to destroy the Soviet Union if possible. . . . The League of Nations, which proved ineffective against Japan, Italy, and Germany in their conquests, may become a league for war against Russia—either bloody war or economic war.

The synthetic solicitude for White Guard Finland—in contrast to the indifference to democratic Spain, which the administration helped strangle with its arms embargo—is the rankest hypocrisy. Pursuing this course, the President ignores the vital interests of the American people which do not conflict with the interests of the USSR anywhere in the world. He has adopted the policy long advocated by such fascists as Hearst and Father Coughlin and by the most reactionary big business groups.

For the state of civil liberties under the new New Deal observe Adam Lapin's article on page 15. The social program is likewise being remodeled according to the specifications of Wall Street. A UP Washington dispatch on Dec. 20 stated:

> The administration is making an effort to reduce appropriation requests to the Congress which meets January 3. . . . Bureau heads and others are complaining around the town of the economy ax, notably in such activities as National Youth Administration, Public Works spending, Civilian Conservation Corps, and related activities. But these cuts are accompanied by zooming national defense costs. . . .

Mr. Roosevelt has not bothered to explain why, in view of his devotion to peace, another half-billion dollars is required for an already swollen defense budget. Nor has he explained why for the first time in several years he has decided not to ask for a deficiency appropriation for relief. In the 1939 fiscal year $2,250,000,000 was spent for WPA; this year only $1,477,000,000. Colonel F. C. Harrington, WPA administrator, has announced that one million workers have been dropped from the rolls during the past year—at the behest of the congressional tories under Garner's leadership.

All the talk about expanding and liberalizing the Social Security Act seems to have been just that—talk. Nothing more is heard of it. The Wagner health program has already been shelved by the President himself. President Roosevelt is giving consideration to Secretary of Agriculture Wallace's pet certificate plan for financing farm aid at the expense of the consumers. The Department of Justice is prosecuting trade unions under the anti-trust laws that were designed to curb big business. The administration is giving increasing support to those forces that are seeking to undermine the Wagner act.

One year ago President Roosevelt declared at the opening of Congress:. "Our nation's program of social and economic reform is . . . a part of defense as basic as armaments themselves." Clearly the New Deal is now in full retreat from that goal.

From 1933 to 1935 the policies of the Roosevelt administration served, despite certain progressive features, to strengthen the monopolies and to hamper labor organization in industries where the trade unions were weak (steel, auto, textile). With the sharpening of the struggle between progress and reaction the New Deal, in response to popular pressure, broke away from the *entente cordiale* with the monopolies, moving along progressive paths, though not without many slips and digressions. This was why the plain people of city and countryside rallied in such overwhelming numbers behind F.D.R. in 1936.

Now the New Deal has once more shifted its course. It has abandoned liberalism and embraced reaction. It can no longer serve as the gathering center for the genuinely liberal forces of the country. A new alliance of labor, the farmers, and the middle classes is needed—a new democratic front. The CIO has provided indispensable planks for the platform of such a movement in its legislative program for Congress. There is no time to lose if peace and democracy shall not wither before 1940 is out.

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The Art of Suppression

Attorney General Murphy feels his way gingerly into the attack on civil liberties. The "foreign agent" frameup.

Washington.

THOSE of us who attend Frank Murphy's press conferences have become accustomed to a peculiar rite, now performed each week. The attorney general may be discussing anything at all—the prosecution of Moe Annenberg, the activities of the Anti-Trust Division, the appointment of new federal judges. Suddenly he breaks off into a set little speech which takes between five and ten minutes. The speech rarely varies. The only element of surprise is the point at which it will begin.

Without apparent provocation, Murphy solemnly assures the assembled correspondents of his ardent devotion to civil liberties. He pledges anew his determination to enforce the Bill of Rights. He expresses unalterable opposition to brass band raids, witch hunts, vigilantes. Sometimes this speech is delivered before he reveals current developments in the administration drive against the Communist Party, sometimes afterwards, sometimes as part of an announcement that new prosecutions against Communist leaders will start shortly.

Each week he explains in detail that suppression of the Communists has nothing to do with civil liberties: First, because the leaders of the Communist Party are foreign agents, and hence do not deserve the same treatment as others. Second, party leaders are just being prosecuted for specific violations of the law anyway. Third, the department is proceeding quietly without fanfare or hysteria. It is the third argument that Murphy seems to like best.

BEHIND THE TACTIC

To some extent Murphy is undoubtedly trying to overcome his own uneasiness. Whether he will ever succeed can only be determined by some future student of the torments suffered by the New Dealers as they plunge desperately to the right. More important for contemporaries is the fact that Murphy is attempting to persuade progressives, liberals, and trade unionists who have hitherto supported the New Deal that they have nothing to fear from the administration drive against Communists.

In short, Murphy and F. D. R. want to suppress the Communists—without antagonizing the liberal backers of the administration. This has been a major tactical consideration in shaping the attack upon the Communist Party; it is one of the key factors in the continuing friction between the administration and Martin Dies.

Without Dies the Department of Justice would have found its anti-Communist drive far more difficult. Dies helped prepare the proper climate for the crackdown. As Murphy once put it, the Dies committee has been "educational." But Mr. and Mrs. Roosevelt apparently understood what Morris Ernst does not: that the Dies committee no longer stands much chance of enlisting large-scale liberal support. If the committee were to be directly involved in the present anti-Communist campaign, it would probably endanger the administration's strategy. In addition, Dies is inordinately ambitious and has plans of his own. The administration will never be quite sure that he can be kept under control. At a future date, the committee, or something like it, may again be useful. Right now it is a bit of a nuisance.

PREPARING FOR WAR.

The Dies committee and the administration don't agree on tactics. But they are getting together on objectives. To put it bluntly, the immediate aim of the administration is to throw every responsible Communist leader in jail. This is to be followed by legislation making the party illegal. Both these steps are to be achieved in a quiet, efficient way which won't antagonize nice people, not even nice liberals. Whether these efforts will succeed is another matter. The Communist Party may be harder to suppress than the Department of Justice expects. But there is no doubt about what the department is after.

Most widely known of its legal devices is the charge that a number of Communist leaders have violated the passport laws. Readers of NEW MASSES already know that Earl Browder and his party associates are accused, not of using pseudonyms on their passports—which some of them did ten or fifteen years ago—but of concealing this fact when they later applied for passports under their own names.

The passport cases are more than a little flimsy, and they may be used as much to smear the party as to get actual convictions. The Browder case particularly has become embarrassing, and the government has asked for a couple of postponements. Officials here fear that Browder's attorney will drag out a list of persons high in business and politics who have been guilty of exactly the same offense without being prosecuted. However, a more serious charge with heavier penalties may be worked out soon. The Department of Justice will probably accuse the Communist leaders of engaging in a conspiracy to evade the passport laws.

INCOME TAX ATTACK

Income tax cases have not yet hit the headlines but they will be prosecuted soon in collaboration with the Treasury. Communist leaders in various parts of the country found it convenient to bank party funds under a personal account. They discovered from experience that the First National Bank of Podunk was not always anxious to have the Communist Party of Podunk as a client. Obviously, the funds which were banked in this way did not represent the personal income of party organizers. The income of political parties is tax-exempt, and party officials will be able to show that their bank accounts were actually those of the organization. The administration is attempting to jail Communist leaders for not filing tax returns on incomes which were not their own and were tax-exempt in the first place.

A third line of attack is to institute deportation proceedings against those party members who have not fully established their citizenship. Murphy has indicated that there may be quite a few cases of this sort. One variation on this angle is to challenge the citizenship of party leaders who are naturalized, as in the case of William Schneiderman, party secretary in California.

Finally, and most important, there is the charge that Communist leaders are "foreign agents," and have violated the law by failing to register as such with the State Department. Party leaders who cannot be prosecuted under other charges, or have been acquitted, will face prosecution as "foreign agents." In addition, the foreign agent angle will be used to bolster up weak cases on other charges, as well as to whip up popular support for the administration's whole drive.

The legislative approach has been discussed at two recent Cabinet meetings. At the first, Murphy urged prompt action by Congress to outlaw the party. On the whole F. D. R. backed him. But Secretary of the Interior Ickes and Secretary of Labor Perkins spoke up in opposition. At the second meeting there was more general agreement. The administration would support such legislation but not be committed publicly as the sponsor.

State Department lawyers have already been called in for advice on drafting a measure to make the party illegal which will stress the foreign agent business. Some administration lawyers have expressed doubts as to whether the legislation which has been proposed thus far will stand up in the Supreme Court, but they have been told by their superiors that the mere passage of legislation would have a salutary effect.

These are the outlines of the administration's scheme for driving out of the political arena a party which it doesn't like and finds increasingly annoying. The war hysteria which is being whipped up over Finland will speed up the process. On the other hand, the growth of anti-war sentiment may make some of the moves against the party more difficult.

The whole trend to the right in the administration will obviously be accentuated by

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outlawing the Communists. Budget slashing will be easier, as will liquidation of the laws passed during the halcyon days of the New Deal. Trade unions have already been threatened by the anti-trust prosecutions of the Department of Justice and by various proposed amendments to the Wagner act. Most important of all, the articulate, well organized nucleus of opposition to American participation in the war would be severely handicapped.

Nor will the process of suppression always continue to be nice and legalistic. Vigilantism will flourish in the reactionary atmosphere which the New Dealers are helping to create. Communist meetings are being broken up throughout the country without any attempt by the Department of Justice to intervene.

After a while other organizations will find that they are slated for destruction. The authorities won't be selective during a witch hunt, and a party book won't be the only proof of subversive activity. The veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade are being hounded by FBI agents. Perhaps the American League for Peace and Democracy will come under fire, as Representative Dies has demanded, for being a "foreign agent." Even the CIO, with its insistence on keeping America out of war, may have to be dealt with in time.

The recent statement of sixty-two outstanding educators, writers, artists, and other public figures indicates that some are awake to the danger. To the extent that others feel that same alarm there is hope for American democracy. But those liberals in Washington and elsewhere who support Murphy's drive against Communists because it comes all dressed up in legal formulae will get socked themselves sooner or later. They will probably ask frantically, why didn't somebody tell us?

ADAM LAPIN.

Quick on the Uptake

TWO editorial paragraphs, published seven weeks apart in the *Nation,* illustrate the alacrity with which some liberals see the point:

Browder, implementing democratic professions with revolutionary technique, was easy game for Mr. Dies. Liberals will waste no particular sympathy on him as a lawbreaker, though they will insist that his trial be a fair one and his punishment made to fit a very minor crime . . .—*Freda Kirchwey, November 4.*

Earl Browder's arrest on charges of using a false passport now seems to have been the signal for launching a widespread attack against the Communist Party rather than the isolated prosecution of an individual who happens also to be head of a political movement . . .—*Editorial, December 23.*

Angle on Finland

PROPOSED slogan for the Workers Alliance this winter: "Give The Bankers Finnish Bonds. We Want Jobs!"

They Write as They Please

The new war correspondence that improves upon nature. What the public will stand.

FOLLOWING is a listing of the new methods of warfare initiated by the United and Associated Press armies operating in Finland. It is believed to be complete up to the time of going to press, but for the latest startling development see your morning newspaper.

1. Victory by drowning; used near Petsamo, it consists in making big waves by dropping trees into the water; waves, in turn, splash over Red (non-swimmer) troops and drown them.

2. Victory by knifing: performed with a short scout knife wielded on skis; skiers swoop down mountainsides and slash the ill-clad Reds.

3. Victory by secret submarine: submarine operates in ice-bound lake where Reds would scarcely expect it; submarine emerges from ice cube (Mondays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays) and sinks transport ships. On other days it sinks tanks by means of its saw-tooth equipment for cutting holes in the ice.

4. Victory by sniping: Finnish sharpshooters sit in trees and shoot down seventy-seven Russians apiece. Russians, too busy falling in traps, don't know where to look for snipers.

5. Victory by freezing: Finns send cold winds down from the fjords on the shirtless, barefoot Reds who aren't used to the cold. The wind first attacks the feet, forcing the Reds to sit, whereupon the same wind attacks the buttocks. The process is then rapid, never failing to kill "several" thousands.

6. Victory by encirclement (used mostly in middle Finland): twenty Finns surround several thousand Reds (usually twenty thousand) who have marched into a trap. The Reds either die of hunger or of cold as they have no matches and cannot make a fire. This is a cruel method and therefore used sparingly.

7. Victory by leaping (used in Karelia): Finnish woodsmen sit in trees where they disguise themselves as sharpshooters so as not to be noticed. Then, when a Russian tank comes along, they leap, alight on the tank turret, and fire murderous machine-pistols inside the tank. It is estimated that one leaping woodsman wiped out seventy-seven Red tank crews.

8. Victory by secret gun: not much is known about this method, except that it is a secret. The secret gun is so constructed that it is guaranteed to kill three out of every four Russians who haven't found out the secret.

9. Victory by mining (not to be confused with the International Nickel Mines which aren't owned by the Finns at all): mines are usually placed under manure where the Reds, who aren't clean-scrubbed like the Finns, are sure to explode them. More than three thousand Russians were blown to bits by one of these mines in a town which the Reds have not yet entered.

10. Victory by retreat: accomplished by running faster than the Reds, tiring them, and then letting them die of smallpox. Many tired Reds have already been stricken by smallpox in this manner.

11. Victory by propaganda: Reds are handed leaflets as they cross the border. These leaflets have been responsible for many daily revolts in Moscow and Leningrad. Like the Finnish secret gun, the revolts are known only to Baron von Mannerheim and his associates.

12. Victory by burning: as they retreat, the Finns burn everything in sight, so that the Russians on entering the town find everything still hot. When it gets cold again, the Red soldiers, who are unprepared, catch cold.

13. Victory by cutting off supplies: by logical, though unconfirmed, attacks upon the Murmansk Railroad, the Finns seize all Red Army uniforms, thus making it necessary for the Reds to wear cocked hats and eighteenth-century outfits borrowed from museums. This makes the Reds so uncomfortable that they can't fight. Finns in the Red Army, according to a Stockholm report, are wearing uniforms dating back to 1702.

14. Victory by confusion at sea: this is accomplished by making the Russians believe that all their warships have been sunk. The Red Admiralty, hearing these reports, cease to give orders to their ships. The Red sailors, receiving no commands, cease firing and return to their bases. This is a complicated method.

JAMES P. SMITH.

Recognition at Last!

"HERBERT HOOVER just got around to reading Eugene Lyons' *Assignment in Utopia,* a bitter indictment of the Soviets. The Great Engineer liked it so much, he sent for Lyons immediately to chat with him at his palatial Waldorf suite."—*N. Y. "World-Telegram."*

Double Feature or Nothing

"THE manager of the Leicester Square Theater received a telephone message from Buckingham Palace yesterday afternoon saying the king and queen intended to visit the theater to see the Royal Air Force film, *The Lion Has Wings,* and the king would also like to see a Walt Disney cartoon.

"A Donald Duck film was secured."—*From the "Daily Mail" (London).*

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The Simple Czech

A short story about life in Praha under the Gestapo terror by Samuel Kaplan.

IT WAS 11:30 on a bright May day in Praha. In the front room on the first floor of the big building on Nekazanka Street, which the Nazis had transformed into a police station, Police Captain Baumann respectfully handed a small placard to Gestapo agent Emil Wallner.

"Herr Wallner," he said, "one of my men found this despicable canard on a garden wall around the corner from here."

Wallner looked at it and his heavy, round face grew red with anger. It was printed in Czech, in big, bold type, and read: "HITLER IS A THIEF! HE MUST BE DRIVEN FROM THE COUNTRY HE HAS STOLEN!"

Gestapo agent Rudolf Voigt, standing back of Wallner, glanced over his superior's shoulder, read the insulting message and frowned ferociously. He was a tall thin man, about thirty-six, with hard gray eyes and thick lips.

Wallner wheeled his bulky body, extended the placard to Voigt. "See this," he said, and turned back to the police captain.

"I cannot compliment the vigilance of a police force that permits a criminal violation of the law like this to be perpetrated right under its nose." He looked coldly at Baumann. "I note further, captain, that most of these treasonable posters are found in your territory. Perhaps you can explain that?"

Baumann paled at the other's savage criticism. It did not feel so good that the all-powerful Gestapo should accuse him, even by inference, of being derelict in his duty.

"Herr Wallner," he said, nervously plucking his mustache, "these damned Czechs put up their bills at night. Many of the streets are unlighted, as you know. My men cover a big district, much too big for the small force I have. They cannot be everywhere at the same time——"

"Who do you suspect might be at the bottom of it?" Wallner interrupted impatiently.

Baumann shrugged his shoulders. "I think every *kavarna* in Praha is a breeding place of treasonable plots. But to catch the vermin while they are hatching them—ah! that is another matter." He waved his hands helplessly. "I've sent men who speak their accursed language, in civilian clothes, to spy in these coffee shops. But it is useless. The scoundrels seem to smell that my men are Germans and nothing is forthcoming."

Wallner's lips curled in a sneer. "More likely they know your men and hold their tongues till they are gone."

"It is true, Herr Wallner," Voigt said deferentially, nodding his head, "that it is most difficult, though not impossible, to obtain worthwhile information in the *kavarnas.*"

His chief looked at him attentively, pursing his lips, then his eyes lighted up as though an idea had struck him. "Difficult but not impossible, eh? I agree." He turned to Baumann. "My apologies, captain." He bowed stiffly. "I was a bit hasty. Now, tell me if you please, which one of the *kavarnas* in your district is, in your judgment, most suspect?"

Cheered by the apology of the dreaded Gestapo agent, though still smarting under his tongue-lashing, the police captain volubly exuded a stream of information.

"I would say the White Goose, at 14 Hybernska St. The proprietor is one Karel Sova. He returned from the United States about a year and a half ago. He did not become an American citizen. He has an impudent, independent way about him like all the rest of them who have been to America. His brother is Viktor Sova who, as you gentlemen know, flew a Czech plane to Warsaw and turned it over to the Poles. I haven't been able to gather actual proof, Herr Wallner, but I suspect the rabble that frequents Sova's *kavarna* can bear a lot of watching."

"Good! Voigt, you and I will disguise ourselves, go to the White Goose, see what we can learn. We will buy drinks, pretend to get tipsy. To lull the suspicions of these Czech boobies, we'll inveigh against our beloved Fuehrer and the Reich. After we've gained their confidence, which may take three or four visits, we should begin to learn who write and print these placards."

"An admirable idea indeed," the police captain exclaimed fulsomely.

Wallner's beefy face cracked into a smile. "It's not a bad idea."

Ah, thought Baumann, he can lap up flattery like a cat laps milk, the insulting scoundrel.

"It's a marvelous idea," he said warmly, "particularly since both of you gentlemen speak the language like natives."

Voigt nodded. "We'll have no trouble on that score."

"Let us go, then," said Wallner.

The Gestapo operatives wished the police captain good-morning and departed.

Two hours later Baumann laid down the report he had been studying, looked at the wall clock, decided it was time for a bite to eat. Suddenly a hubbub arose outside his window that faced the street. The uproar swelled in volume. Baumann rose to his feet, frowning, as he heard the tramping of many feet in the hallway, the shouting of voices. The door burst open and in poured a crowd of about forty Czechs, gesticulating and yelling.

A dozen policemen, who had been lounging in a rear room, ran in and vainly shouted at the excited mob to be quiet. At the head of the milling throng four husky men dragged forward two unconscious forms and, roaring indistinguishable Czech, threw them triumphantly at the police captain's feet. He gazed, stupefied, as he barely recognized in the battered and bloody faces the features of Wallner and Voigt.

"Who did this?" he asked furiously, in Czech.

One of the four who had dragged in the bodies waved his hands in a wide arc that encompassed the room, struck his chest with a fist, and cried in a hoarse voice, "We all beat these scamps, your excellency." He was a burly fellow, fully six feet three inches tall, with an enormous mustache, and seemed to be hugely pleased with himself.

For a couple of seconds the police captain could not speak. Boiling with rage, he pointed a shaking finger at one of the policemen. "Hartmann," he snapped, in German, "take five men, lock the door. If anyone attempts to leave, shoot to kill."

The young policeman saluted, turned, spoke sharply to five of his comrades, all of whom began pushing their way through the Czechs.

"Come here, you," Baumann snarled, motioning with his forefinger to the burly fellow. As the latter approached, beaming, Baumann stared, and rapped out an oath. "You're Karel Sova!"

"Yes, your excellency. At your service, your excellency."

"You're the ringleader of this mob, eh?"

Karel's black eyes sparkled. He scratched the back of his head as if embarrassed, smiled widely, thereby exposing a mouthful of strong yellow teeth. "Your excellency, I cannot say that I am the leader. But it is true it was my idea we should bring them—" he pointed to the still unconscious Gestapo agents—"before your excellency."

"So you think it's perfectly all right to beat up people at your own sweet will, eh?"

"Pardon, your excellency. But these wretches——"

"Silence, you clown!" Baumann shoved his chin out, glared at the big Czech. He raised his arm to the crowd. "Shut up, you!" he bellowed. "All of you!"

The noise in the room sank to a murmured babble, punctuated by chuckling and low-voiced laughter.

They'll laugh on the other side of their faces when I get through with them, the police captain thought grimly.

To Karel he said: "I'll deal with you first."

"Yes, your excellency," Karel said, smiling stupidly.

His smile infuriated Baumann. It was the same kind of stupid smile he had seen on the faces of innumerable Czechs when they feigned ignorance of sabotage or other acts of violence against the majesty of the Reich.

"You assaulted these men!"

"Yes, your excellency, but——"

"State the circumstances under which the

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assault was committed." Baumann licked his lips with satisfaction. The fellow was a simpleton. His stay in America had certainly not sharpened his wits.

"Well, your excellency, I was sitting with a couple of customers enjoying a dish of mutton when I heard loud voices at a nearby table. At first I didn't pay any attention. But after a while I noticed customers at adjoining tables turning their heads and listening. So I listened too. Your excellency, do you know what I heard?"

Karel looked at the police captain with indignant eyes. "Those two bad fellows were cursing the honorable Protector Konstantin von Neurath and uttering other treasonable and traitorous language against our cherished Reich. So I said to my friends and all the other patriots in my *kavarna,* 'Let us make these traitors eat their foul talk!' And we set upon them and beat them soundly."

Again Karel smiled that stupid smile. "Your excellency, are we not to be commended for our patriotism?"

Baumann drew in his breath with a hissing sound. "Get out of here, all of you." The crowd swept out of the room like a hurricane.

The figures on the floor groaned and stirred feebly. Baumann reached for the telephone to summon a doctor. He looked at Wallner's bashed features and smiled vengefully.

"So," he mimicked the other's tone, "it's not a bad idea."

SAMUEL KAPLAN.

Mischa Richter

"Look who's here, Buddy."

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The War in Canada

Canadian-Americans are sucked into another war for the profits of Empire. A report by a Toronto labor leader Sam Carr.

Toronto.

A COUPLE of years ago the "Liberal" government of Mackenzie King condemned the tory slogan "Canada is at war when Britain is at war" by vowing that it would prevent Canada's involvement in "crusades on other continents." How much these sweet words meant at the time was illustrated by the fact that the Canadian delegation to the League of Nations played stooge for Downing Street in smashing the sanctions move against Italy's Ethiopian adventure. During the Spanish tragedy, the Canadian government followed the treacherous line of the Chamberlain-Blum plotters. While over a thousand young Canadians fought for Spanish freedom, the Canadian owners of the Barcelona Traction Co. helped Franco with millions of dollars and behind-the-scenes connivance. The government of Canada endorsed the betrayal of Austria, Albania, and the very Czechoslovakia for whose restoration it professes to be fighting now.

Canada is now at war with Germany—which is not inconsistent for a government like Mackenzie King's, though it was elected by capitalizing on the sentiment of the Canadian people against entanglement in future British wars in Europe.

Canada emerged from the imperialist war of 1914-18 an industrial-agrarian country, whose own capitalist class was rising to rival the British and American financiers who have more than $6,000,000,000 of investments in Canada. Canadian capitalists have increased their own capital exports to $2,000,000,000 and intensified their drive for a share of the world markets. The Canadian bourgeoisie entered into bitter competition with both "the mother country" and the "great neighbor to the south." The Statutes of Westminster formally acknowledged Canada as independent and "united with Britain through the person of the king." Although Canada's ruling class claimed there would be no automatic involvement of Canada in Britain's predatory wars, the English imperialists did not worry; they knew their brothers in the Dominion were too deeply involved in the capitalist fortunes of the "great commonwealth of nations."

The *Athenia* incident was useful to the Dominion warmongers. The anti-fascist sentiments of the people were exploited to make war on the Hitler to whom Mr. Chamberlain had only recently betrayed Spain, Czechoslovakia, and Poland. Liberals and tories united to vote the people into war. The parliamentary representatives of the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation voted their support.

To ease the shock of another war, the big business press assured the people that there would be no expeditionary force as in 1914, when 600,000 men were mobilized. That war cost the Canadian working class sixty thousand lives and a burden of taxes which still breaks the small man's back. No men overseas, said the government; Canada would serve as an "arsenal and a granary for the Allies." People were promised "painless" prosperity.

In a short time the leaders of the "Liberal" Party had become the leading warmongers. The Quebec provincial elections demonstrated this newly found unity between open reaction and false liberalism. Maurice Duplessis, the loud-mouthed semi-fascist premier of Quebec, was overthrown when the lumber and power barons deserted him for the new "patriotic unity" bloc.

One clue to the alacrity of the war declaration is contained in the statement of a Cabinet member, C. G. Power: "We are trying to cooperate in behalf of humanity in the war being waged by the democracies on Nazism and Communism." The country is flooded with so much vociferous anti-Soviet propaganda that one would suppose Britain had declared war against Russia.

But as soon as war had been declared the profiteers began talking of their war aims. The *Financial Post,* Canada's *Wall Street Journal,* said editorially: "Canada's idle days of peace are at an end. With the empire and France at war with the Nazis, demand is seen overnight for every man, every machine, and every acre in the Dominion. . . . In this new war demand is seen an immediate and tremendous expansion for Canadian business." The paper salutes one of the first gains of Canadian monopoly capital:

> One immediate barrier that the government has wisely removed is the present restrictive 5 percent clause which limits profits on munitions and defense purchases made by the Defense Purchasing Board. Unworkable legislation of this type barred the opportunity for quick, efficient, and cooperative effort on the part of Canadian industry.
>
> Profits are essential to war efforts, they must remain the mainspring of productive effectiveness. These men [bankers and industrialists] are not profiteers because they conduct their business on a profit basis. On the contrary the recognition of the legitimacy of a reasonable reward for work well done is a wise and proper means of ensuring the best possible contribution by Canada to the Allies' cause. . . .

Less than a month after Canada's war declaration, the government flouted its previous promises not to send soldiers abroad. Two divisions of volunteers are to go to Europe almost immediately. The sooner the better, says the tory press. With the present inactivity of the British army in France, why are Canadians needed? Because compulsory conscription will be easier if the country has already sent some men. The profiteers remember the bitter struggle against conscription in the last war and they are trying to soften the blow. The inevitable concomitant of imperialist war is the silencing of the masses at home, the destruction of all civil liberties under the excuse of a war emergency. The Defense of Canada Act is the means by which the Canadian people are being gagged; under whose provisions two churchmen are now imprisoned for writing on the envelopes of personal letters, "War is a sin."

In the British Columbian Legislature the Defense Act is being used to intimidate duly elected representatives against criticizing Chamberlain and Daladier. Municipal elections have been suspended in Ontario. Thirty Communists have been jailed for distributing peace propaganda, which stated that "The present war is a catastrophe for Canada. . . . For the capitalists the war means fabulous profits but for the Canadian workers, farmers, and middle classes the war means death, misery, exploitation, crisis, and ruin." The distribution of 175,000 copies of this anti-war manifesto has been answered by a reign of terror against Canadian progressives. Interference with recruiting, a "crime" which can be very widely interpreted, is punishable by five years' imprisonment. The labor weekly, the *Clarion,* has been banned because it is the only voice of the anti-war forces.

On the economic front the promises of war prosperity for the people are already proved to be lies. Toronto steel workers, coal miners in Estevan, and Nova Scotian fishermen have demonstrated in militant strikes since the war began that they will fight to hold their gains. In the mine and maritime strikes hundreds of Mounted Police have come in to protect the scabs, and already the reactionaries have outlawed strikes in "war industries." What industry is not a "war industry"?

The people, paced by the Communist Party of Canada, are striking back at their oppressors. Labor is fighting wage cuts and the ascending cost of living. Students at Montreal's McGill University, in a statement in the university's paper, indicate the temper of the people:

> Loyalty ought not to be blind; our leaders are not, or until the war broke out, were not, fuehrers. They appear to tend that way, however. We are ostensibly fighting a war for the preservation of freedom; if, in order to be successful in that effort, it has become necessary to suspend the ordinary democratic rights of free speech, free press, and academic freedom, then logically the war is not a just one and should be stopped at once.

The Communist Party of Canada, like its brother parties in France and England, faces heavy seas. Recent arrests are the first blow at the people's peace movement. But in 1931-34 the party was outlawed for its leadership of the people in the economic crisis. From that period of illegality and terror it emerged stronger than before. Today the party faces greater trials ahead, but it is conscious of the justice of its position, and sustained by a deep faith in the people.

SAM CARR.

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NEW MASSES

ESTABLISHED 1911

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★

Finland's Santa Claus

PERHAPS the most cutting commentary on the "let's help Finland" campaign was last week's meeting at Madison Square Garden. A couple of million dollars' worth of free newspaper publicity brought out only Herbert Hoover, Dorothy Thompson, Mayor LaGuardia, Sen. Robert Wagner, and 6,996 other citizens. The galleries were filled to capacity with emptiness; loud silences repeatedly interrupted the speakers. From where we were seated the whole of the orchestra looked like a billiard table. But the people of New York apparently keep their eye on the eight-ball; no collections were taken but the boxes were oversubscribed.

Ten days ago Kyosti Kallio, Finnish president, appealed for help; the week before it was Voito Tanner. This week Sir Risto Ryti himself told the world that the jig might be up if help were not forthcoming pronto. Meeting in France, the Allied Supreme War Council felt compelled to answer the League of Nations' appeal for material aid; significantly, the League Committee has moved its quarters from Geneva to Paris. The American State Department extended its moral embargo to patents, plans, and technical information that might be useful in the manufacture of high-octane aviation gasoline. Last week, it was molybdenum and aluminium. Under government pressure, many American plants are refusing to ship contracted machinery for the Soviet Union. Washington reports say that the thousand or so Soviet engineers in American factories will be invited to leave. Walter Lippmann's proposal for a $50,000,000 credit for military supplies (see NEW MASSES editorial last week) is making great progress. Lippmann urged Republican leaders to press the idea in the capitol, and lo! Senator McNary of Oregon was boosting the suggestion this week. Foreign agents of Finland come off the boat and make a beeline to the Army and Navy Departments. Orders for at least two hundred planes are rumored.

News from Finland

TOWARD the close of the week, three important rumors made the front page in the afternoon papers. First it was reported that General Meretskov, commander of the Leningrad area, in charge of the military operations in Finland, had been demoted by Stalin. The next morning the New York *Times* and the *Herald Tribune* reprinted this rumor and the *Daily News* ran the general's picture. That afternoon, however, the Associated Press correspondent in Moscow spiked this juicy story by announcing that General Meretskov had just been feted by his staff and had been nominated in the elections of the Leningrad Soviet. None of the previously mentioned papers ran the correction.

Again, there appeared an item to the effect that Otto Kuusinen had not greeted Joseph V. Stalin on his birthday. This offered the base for a tale that the entire People's Government of Finland had been arrested by the GPU for "duping" the Kremlin about the actual possibilities of popular support in Finland. By Sunday, however, the *Sunday Worker* had ascertained that Kuusinen had been among the many greeters of Stalin on his birthday. No corrections of course.

The commercial press has no correspondents with the Red Army, but it might cover itself in the eyes of its intelligent readers by reprinting the Moscow communiques at least as prominently as the reports from Helsinki, Copenhagen, Stockholm, and points west. Last week the Red Army made a careful summary of the three weeks' war: wholly confirming our observations in these columns. Most papers either killed the story or else quoted it in such a way as to give a misleading impression. What news is fit to print?

Last Wednesday, Herbert Hoover spoke in Madison Square Garden to an ermine-wrapped, bald-headed audience. Police estimates were that seven thousand persons attended this rally to help Mannerheim: the first edition of the *Times* gave ten thousand as the attendance: the second edition boosted this to fifteen thousand without any explanation to its readers. In his speech Mr. Hoover made public a letter to President Wilson in which he urged recognition of the Finnish republic twenty years ago. He wrote that the influence of General Mannerheim no longer cast its shadow over Finnish events. The New York *Times* reprinted the letter, carefully omitting Mannerheim's name, substituting the euphemism "a certain gentleman" because Mannerheim the butcher is still leading the Finnish White Guard troops.

The contemptuous cynicism of the editors of the commercial press of the United States toward its readers is breeding the same contemptuous cynicism of readers to editors.

F. D. R. and the Pope

THE Vatican's peace appeal might have had less significance had it not come in such evident cooperation with President Roosevelt's extraordinary appointment of Myron C. Taylor as his personal ambassador to the Holy See. The Pope said what might have been expected this Christmas; his warning that the "forces of evil" may be the only legatees of that "pernicious anemia" which grips the warring powers is testimony to the shrewdness and alarm of the Vatican, engaged in the defense of the material as well as spiritual patrimony of the capitalist world. Pope Pius XII is the former Cardinal Pacelli. During the World War he was papal nuncio in Germany; until 1929, he continued that post after experiences with the workers' revolution, the Social Democratic republic, the rise of Hitler. The New York *Times* for March 3 of this year wrote that "Historically it was from his assumption of the head of the Secretariat of State (in 1930) that the Holy See's strong stand against Communism dates."

The appointment of Myron C. Taylor, chairman of the United States Steel Corp., is unusual from several angles. American diplomatic relations with the Vatican were broken off in 1867; already the Southern Baptists question presidential authority for such an appointment. Mr. Taylor will be recalled as one of the most "realistic" big business men; he broke the united front of the steelmasters in the spring of 1937 to sign a separate peace with the CIO. As a member of the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees, he had the opportunity of intimate contact with such international British agents as Paul Van Zeeland at their Washington meeting last October.

Naturally all peoples want peace. Germany asked for it some time ago; the Soviet Union supported Germany in this request. The Communist International works for it. Yet, in view of what we know of the former Cardinal Pacelli, in view of the President's record in the past four months, a peace which they might arrange has the most ominous implications. It is part of that secret diplomacy which works everywhere to arrange the war against the Soviet Union, the attack upon the forces of socialism in every country. More than that, a distinct historical parallel comes to mind. It was just before Christmas, 1916, that President Wilson undertook his peace offensive. Pope Benedict XV was at the time conducting "parallel efforts" in the same direction. Three months later, the American people were driven into the "war to end all war."

Tell That to the Marines

AT THE close of October, Mr. V. Molotov made a passing remark that's been itching the American State Department ever since. "One might think," said the people's commissar of foreign affairs, "that matters are in a better shape between the United States and, let us say, the Philippines or Cuba, which have long been demanding freedom and independence from the United States . . . than between the Soviet Union and Finland which long ago obtained both freedom and independence from the Soviet Union."

Last week, the suave Sumner Welles, undersecretary of state, told that forum of workers' and peasants' deputies, the Cuban Chamber of Commerce, that Mr. Molotov was all wrong. America had never intervened in Cuba and never would. Of course, said Mr. Welles, "there have been times, and I admit it quite frankly, when it would seem that the vested interests played far too great a part in determining the course of the policy of

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their government toward Cuba, or interfered in the domestic political concerns of the Cuban people." Them days are gone forever, Mr. Welles assures us. Yet the President's manipulation of sugar quotas keeps Cuban workers unemployed; it was only last week that the tariff on Cuban sugar and tobacco was returned to the level as agreed upon in the 1934 reciprocal trade agreement. Last month at the Inter-American Labor Conference at Havana, delegates of the Cuban Confederation of Labor bitterly denounced Washington pressure in Cuban affairs. The Platt Amendment was repealed in 1934, but a new treaty of residence and navigation is being forced upon the Cuban constitution altogether irrespective of what the delegates to the Constituent Assembly want to do about it.

Perhaps the joker on Mr. Welles was an editorial in that *Izvestia* of the "vested" interests, the New York *Herald Tribune,* which wrote last Friday:

> The fact that the United States twice withdrew from the island of Cuba and persistently has refused to interfere in that country's internal affairs—barring Mr. Welles' own bungling effort to "shape" political currents when he was ambassador—stands out as one of the few instances of altruistic action on the part of a great nation in dealing with a weak and economically dependent neighbor.

"Barring Mr. Welles' own bungling efforts to 'shape' political currents when he was ambassador" . . . need Mr. Molotov have said it in Russian?

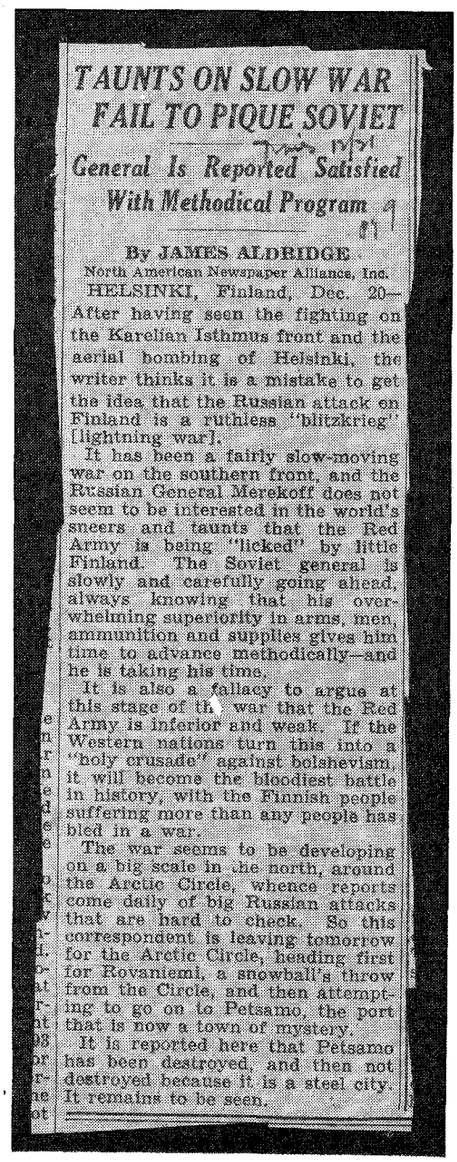
Tokyo Trade Tangle

THE immediate issue in the present negotiations with Japan involves whether or not the 1911 trade treaty, denounced last July, shall be extended or revised this January. If the treaty expires without renewal, trade relations with Japan are disrupted, in anticipation whereof Japan is making a frantic effort to load its freighters and boost its orders in this country. Exports to Japan rose sharply in September and October: scrapiron, refined copper, crude petroleum, and raw cotton bulk large in the deadly statistics. The treaty can be renewed or allowed to lapse; a third course would be some formula whereby trade would continue more or less as at present.

But the real issue in the negotiations transcends matters of trade. Ever since Ambassador Grew told the Japanese the facts of life as far as American attitudes towards their aggression in China were concerned, discussions have proceeded with the Japanese foreign minister, Nomura, on the more general aspects of Japanese-American relations. Simultaneously important conversations have taken place at Manila among ranking American naval officers, Commissioner Sayre, and the American ambassador to China. The Japanese are pressing strongly for American recognition of their "new order" in Asia; the opinion of such folk as Walter Lippmann and Professor Griswold, of Yale, supports them. Last week, Tokyo conceded that the Yangtse river would be opened to the trade of foreign nations; promises have come of payments for the damaged properties of American nationals.

Historically, the United States opposes Japanese domination of the continent and favors a China united enough to make American economic penetration profitable. Logically this should range both the United States and the Soviet Union against Japanese aggression. Yet American policy since July 1937 has been a contradiction: some help and much sympathy for China; increasing economic support to Japan. In essence, the United States which frowned on "appeasement" in Europe is pursuing it in the Far East.

The effort to "control" both China and Japan has ulterior anti-Soviet motives which become more ominous as the war in Europe and the Finnish incident disclose profound anti-Soviet convictions in the State Department and the White House.



TAUNTS ON SLOW WAR FAIL TO PIQUE SOVIET

General Is Reported Satisfied With Methodical Program

By JAMES ALDRIDGE
North American Newspaper Alliance, Inc.

HELSINKI, Finland, Dec. 20—After having seen the fighting on the Karelian Isthmus front and the aerial bombing of Helsinki, the writer thinks it is a mistake to get the idea that the Russian attack on Finland is a ruthless "blitzkrieg" [lightning war].

It has been a fairly slow-moving war on the southern front, and the Russian General Merekoff does not seem to be interested in the world's sneers and taunts that the Red Army is being "licked" by little Finland. The Soviet general is slowly and carefully going ahead, always knowing that his overwhelming superiority in arms, men, ammunition and supplies gives him time to advance methodically—and he is taking his time.

It is also a fallacy to argue at this stage of the war that the Red Army is inferior and weak. If the Western nations turn this into a "holy crusade" against bolshevism it will become the bloodiest battle in history, with the Finnish people suffering more than any people has bled in a war.

The war seems to be developing on a big scale in the north, around the Arctic Circle, whence reports come daily of big Russian attacks that are hard to check. So this correspondent is leaving tomorrow for the Arctic Circle, heading first for Rovaniemi, a snowball's throw from the Circle, and then attempting to go on to Petsamo, the port that is now a town of mystery.

It is reported here that Petsamo has been destroyed, and then not destroyed because it is a steel city. It remains to be seen.

TOO HOT FOR ALL EDITIONS. *The above story appeared in one edition of the New York "Times," December 21. It didn't precisely jibe with the headlines on page 1, so Mr. Sulzberger's editors yanked it out in all the other editions. Read it and you'll see why.*

USSR and China

THE cornerstone of Soviet policy is a strong China, coinciding with the overwhelming sentiment of the American people. On October 31, Molotov invited Japan to change its relations with its powerful western neighbor in the light of such experiences as the military trouncing on the Manchukuan borders. The annual fisheries agreement has just been concluded without the usual nastiness from Tokyo; on January 10 Soviet-Japanese trade discussions will continue. It is known that powerful groups in Japan favor a new orientation toward Russia. On the other hand, six hundred important business and political figures this week warned the Tokyo government to avoid such an orientation lest America and the Allies be angered.

Meanwhile Soviet aid to the embattled Chinese people continues. China itself this week prepared for large-scale military activities against the invaders on all fronts. Chinese armies in Kwangsi have captured important passes that dominate Nanning. This city, whose capture by the Japanese last month enabled them to cut Chinese supplies from the south, is now threatened.

Roundup

BERNARR MACFADDEN recently suggested in full-page newspaper ads the idea of a "Night of Lights" on Christmas Eve in which every electric light bulb in the country would be turned on in symbolic reproof to the European blackouts. Wiseacres who asked what utilities outfit he was working for were surprised at the reply of the Detroit Edison Co. in local papers. The utility firm strongly urged against the idea on the grounds that "extraordinary use of current might blow fuses in house wiring." . . . Forty-eight freighters have been put under Panama registry this year, but the U. S. Department of Commerce report coyly neglects to mention how many are American boats, evading neutrality laws. . . . Oswald Garrison Villard urges in the *Nation* that *Collective Security Must Come,* and Senator Vandenberg in the *American Mercury* that *The New Deal Must Be Salvaged.* . . . Alexander Korda's first British propaganda film, *The Lion Has Wings,* financed fifty-fifty by producer and government, is subject of bitter protest by studio workers. They worked at a pittance out of patriotism and now see Korda reap huge profits. . . . Two hundred and twenty League of Nations clerks and secretaries lose their jobs because expulsion of USSR removed $500,000 annual dues, one-tenth of League budget. . . . Charles Lamb, Alhambra, Cal., applying for old age pension, was asked if he had any property to sign over. "Only cemetery plot where my wife is buried," he said. He was directed to relinquish this property in order to be eligible for the pension. . . . Irony of the week: Chamberlain recognizes Benes committee for raising Czech volunteers to fight for British empire. Benes, whose country was betrayed by Chamberlain, was not allowed to speak in England before the war.

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Readers' Forum

Dudley Nichols on Coughlin

TO NEW MASSES: I have been following John L. Spivak's series on Charles E. Coughlin with deep interest. Spivak is one of the most important and courageous men in our national life today. He has done a fine job of digging into the works and words of Coughlin, whom I hold to be one of the most dangerous men in our national life. Having been a reporter for ten years of my life, I know how hard it is to unearth the facts about powerful men whose success hinges upon discreet concealment of certain acts and statements. More power to Spivak. I salute him as a true idealist, knowing how much animosity will fall upon his head from the thousands who have been misled by Coughlin.

Mr. Spivak has exposed some of the works and maneuvers of Mr. Coughlin (I decline to designate him as "Father"; I have known too many great priests, such as the great Father of the Fighting 69th, with whom I shared a room in Chicago when we were covering the Eucharistic Congress years ago, he spiritually and I secularly; and from him I came to learn the meaning of true faith). But nobody can expose that strange and devious soul within the sacerdotal politician of Royal Oak. I was actually shocked by the opening paragraph of Spivak's first article, where he quotes Coughlin's words as recorded by Ruth Mugglebee. Has Coughlin ever denied that statement attributed to him in an interview? You should ascertain that. There Coughlin is quoted as saying:

"Do you know how I would live if I renounced religion and was illogical enough to disbelieve in a life beyond—in the real life? Why, if I threw away and denounced my faith, I would surround myself with the most adroit hijackers, learn every trick of the highest banking and stock manipulation, avail myself of the laws under which to hide my own crimes, create a smokescreen to throw into the eyes of men, and—believe me, I would become the world's champion crook."

I do not know whether Coughlin so spoke. But anyone who so speaks is the true criminal. I am a man who is illogical enough to disbelieve in a life beyond and I do not participate in his "faith," which he has so greatly injured in the eyes of men. Yet I find my instincts and impulses even better than they were when I had that kind of faith and belief in personal immortality. I find that in general I am a fairly good man. I have no malice against any of my fellowmen. I do not even hate the enemies of man's forward march, though I will fight them to the last breath. I have no desire to prosper by acquiring some of the prosperity of those who have less than I. I believe implicitly in true democracy. I am ashamed when I have wrong thoughts, as all men must have at many times in their lives. I love the spirit of Lincoln. There are two ways to love Lincoln: one is to love him as the embodiment of the great American ideal; the other is to despise wreckers of that ideal, like Coughlin—not hate them, but hold them in contempt and oppose them with all the truth you can summon. Well, as I say, I do not conceive myself to be a criminal and yet I am wholly without those safeguards which Coughlin admits are necessary to keep him from being the greatest criminal in the world.

I say that if that is so, he is a criminal nevertheless. He puts belief in an after-life as one fence against his criminal action. That is only fear—fear of being held accountable in eternity. The good man can be good without that fear. Society tries to protect itself against the criminal by erecting fences of fear—imprisonment, the electric chair, punishment of hideous sorts. The result is that a lot of men restrain their criminal impulses. Some do not, but most do. Thus Coughlin admits he is restrained from his criminal impulses. And his "faith" becomes only another fence—the belief that he must face the Almighty in that after-life and account for his misdeeds.

But I say that such a man is a criminal anyway; just as a pervert who resists attacking children because he fears detection and the rage of society is still a criminal in his heart. He is a criminal until he cleanses his heart of that crouching demon within and can face himself without trembling.

The man who would make the statement attributed to Coughlin by Miss Mugglebee would be by the same token an immense hypocrite. He would have to conceal his secret dreams of power and money and gain by criminal methods. Now, no one should be ashamed of the hunger for power and money. It lies in humanity. Some men give it rein. Some even do little evil with their power and money. But some men also conquer those secret components of their hearts. They discover ultimately how to sublimate their hunger for material power and wealth into the great hunger for spiritual power and wealth. Coughlin has apparently not made that sublimation. When a priest is ordained I think he is expected to make that sublimation, if he has not done it before. Certainly the great Father Duffy had done so; that is why I could not help loving the man.

I believe that Father Duffy could have been archbishop of New York had he desired preferment. But he had no material ambitions. He told me many things about his early struggles with himself in those nights we spent together in Chicago. He started like all other men, with the same human heart, with all its hungers. But he triumphed over them and became a great and loved man. Coughlin has not triumphed and he is destined to become a notorious and hated man, I fear, unless he discovers his fault and turns his great abilities to correcting it. The true church can do no less than disavow Coughlin.

I have a mighty respect for the great Catholic Church. I believe that in my heart I have more true respect for it than has Charles Coughlin, who is not only a communicant but one of its priests.

Some years ago I talked to a big business man who was as successful in his line as Coughlin has been in the line of demagogy. This man was in his thirties and yet he was a master—he had in a few years amassed wealth and power over men. I was curious about what lay within him. He trusted me because he saw I had no ill will. One day when we were talking about Al Capone, he laughed. And strangely, he said almost precisely what Coughlin is quoted as saying by Miss Mugglebee. Only he didn't put faith as a barrier. He was not a man of such high spiritual insight as Coughlin. This man I am speaking of said that, knowing he was an exceptional man, he determined to satisfy ambition. He said he would have been a gangster—but the clever type described as Coughlin's arch-criminal—and amassed wealth and power except for one thing: he found an easier racket. I use his exact words: he had found an easier racket. And well within the law he had satisfied his hungers. Well, that poor chap is dead and gone now. He left $10,000,000 and many good works behind him. All in all, he was a good man. He was a good man because his barrier, which kept him from unleashing criminal impulses, was not fear. He had courage. He wasn't afraid. But he had found an easier and "moral" way to accomplish the same thing. I know he was a far better man, though he really wasted his life, than any man who would say the words attributed to Coughlin.

I no doubt incur the enmity of Mr. Coughlin. If not, I would know that, as a man of deep faith in humanity and a devotee of the Americanism of Jefferson and Lincoln, there was something very wrong with me. DUDLEY NICHOLS.

William Pickens Writes

TO NEW MASSES: John L. Spivak, keenest of investigating reporters and arch-enemy of fascists, has certainly made a great exposure of Father Coughlin—unless the Father can disprove the evidence which is contained in the photostatic copies of various incorporation papers. These papers show sharp practice. Spivak's opinions are really not necessary: those photographed copies published without comment would do the trick.

Why in the world is the U. S. Department of Justice messing around with small fry like "Father Divine," with big and dangerous game like "Father" Coughlin loose in our woods? All the "heavens" of Divine, from Boston to San Diego, added together do not constitute half the menace of the hell of the "Little Flower." Father Divine owns nothing: Father Coughlin has a well manipulated income. The cloak of the Catholic Church is very broad, but it ought not to cover the schemes by which the Radio Father conceals the income of himself and of his political machines.

Father Divine's outfit has a good many votes, but of course not so many as the good Catholic Church. The G-men, however, might find out that not all the Catholic votes would support the Michigan Father, and that many members of his church would like to see him brought to justice and erased as a fascist menace and a disturber of our democratic peace.

As a democracy, we are not any too good even without the Coughlins, but we can do better without them.

If even half of what Spivak alleges, and gives evidence of, in his articles is true, we cannot see how any sensible American could follow Coughlinism, except the same sort of poor human beings that would follow Hitlerism and "heil" ridiculous leaders like Kuhn. WILLIAM PICKENS.

A Coughlin Victim

TO NEW MASSES: After reading John L. Spivak's documentary expose of Charlie Coughlin, I feel impelled to write you in praise of the fine job you are doing. Thousands of decent American people have been crying, "Why don't they stop that rogue?" Nothing very effective was done. Even the city police did very little to protect American citizens from Coughlin's Hitlerite hoodlums and gangsters. It falls to NEW MASSES, now as always, courageously to tackle a job that no one else would undertake.

I write you as one who has felt the fist of American fascism. Just this last February I was beaten up when I voiced my disapproval of some placards urging everyone to "Buy Gentile, Christian, American" and claiming that "Franco was the savior of the human race." These Coughlinite hoodlums insisted on their freedom of speech, but when I indulged my right to an opinion, I was rolled to the street with a broken face.

My highest tribute to NEW MASSES, the magazine of courage. HOWARD W. WILLARD.

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The Moral Embargo Mood

Another in a series of articles on "Writers and the War" by Samuel Sillen. The dangers of complacency on the home front.

THE second issue of the old *Masses* (February 1911) commented ironically on the visit of John Hays Hammond to Russia. "He has gone there," our editorial said, "to induce the Russian government to let American captains of industry use their capital for erecting grain elevators, installing electric lighting plants, and constructing trolley lines and canals. The American people are so replete with the good things of life that they must needs seek an outlet for their excess somewhere." Today we are being persuaded that we have such an abundance of democracy at home that it would be unselfish of us not to bestow the surplus elsewhere. To demonstrate our philanthropy we shall be asked to throw in, gratis, a few hundred thousand American corpses. In the meantime, our moral embargoes are an earnest of our intention to distribute our super-abundant blessings among mankind.

War fever is a dialectical disease. It blinds us to the glaring ugliness of our own backyard at the same time that it sharpens our perception of transoceanic deviltries. In the alleged interests of national unity we are invited to keep mum on our own shortcomings while we slap moral embargoes all over the globe in a spirit of self-congratulation. How quick we are to lather up the good soft soap of righteousness! It becomes a patriotic duty to ignore the starving citizens of Cleveland and Toledo, the mutilated bodies of Negroes in Mississippi and migratory workers in California, the relief castoffs in the big cities, and the mortgage refugees in the rural areas. Devotion to Americanism is tested by the degree of one's acquiescence to the extermination of the Bill of Rights.

We cannot tell how many writers will succumb to the mounting fever. That so many of them succumbed in 1917 is one of the awkward facts of our literary history. Signs are not missing that the disease is capable of a second siege. In consequence, a serious problem is raised for literature.

No writer of integrity can accept the assumption—shrewdly cultivated by press, radio, and movies—that here in America, thank God, we have solved our basic difficulties, no matter how intolerable things may be abroad. There is an obvious discrepancy between the picture of our society which Steinbeck drew in *The Grapes of Wrath* and the stereotype which the belligerent press is attempting to impose upon us. It is an embarrassing discrepancy, and the writer will be encouraged, in a thousand and one ways, to make his vision conform to the stereotype. For a book like *The Grapes of Wrath* takes the sting out of our moral embargoes. It is a disquieting reminder that here too we suffer from a scarcity of those blessings whose absence we are so quick to note abroad. It is a reminder that democracy, which of all things should begin at home, has taken out only its first citizenship papers in our republic. The perceptive reader is aware that the people who mow down the Joads are the ones who are most clamorous about their desire to dump our human surpluses on an unrepentant world.

Any writer who honestly portrays the facts of American life is bound to be a nuisance to these people, more so now than ever before. Our memories are tragically short if we forget the experience of the Creel committee during the World War. George Creel's *How We Advertised America,* published in 1920, is a sufficiently horrible example for our own day. Mr. Creel's corps of regimented writers busied themselves with elaborate explanations of the "motives, purposes, and ideals of America so that friend, foe, and neutral alike might come to see us as a people without selfishness and in love with justice." That is no doubt a laudable aim. But let us remember that in pursuing it writers were expected to overcome "the exaggerated attention" paid abroad to the Mooney trial, the imprisonment of Emma Goldman, and the deportation cases in Arizona. Mr. Creel feared that attention to such matters gave "the lying impression" that we had an industrial autocracy in America. In order to counteract this impression he flooded the world with films and pamphlets which portrayed "the wholesome life of America . . . our industrial life, and our adventures in altruism and humanity." And to underscore the altruism of our wholesome industrialists, the United States Steel Corp. and International Harvester were "generous in the extreme." Henry Ford "led all the others in princely donations that totaled thousands of dollars."

What is most dangerous about the moral embargo mood is the complacency which it inevitably engenders. No mood could be more satisfactory to the bigwigs of finance and industry. They have been assuring us for a long time that our discontent is nothing but ingratitude. In a pinch, they have always resorted to the strategy of invidious comparison. Granted that things are not utopian here, they say, just see how much better off we are than the starving Armenians. Eugene V. Debs was constantly accused in the press of ignoring the superiority of American wage standards over those of Mexican peons. Steinbeck has been accused of giving an unfair picture of American life on very much the same grounds. The mood of self-congratulation is generated from the pulpit, the editorial sanctum, and the classroom. The administration urges us to bury our domestic hatchets while we join in a chorus of praise of its shipments to Finland, the focal point of capitalist intervention against socialism. Even Hoover, the hero of Anacostia Flats, attempts to restore himself by collecting money from the Whitneys and du Ponts for bandages and machine guns.

Writers may take a cue from the labor movement. The CIO legislative program for the 1940 Congress points out that "Unfortunately, the time and energy of our own government representatives during the past few months have been devoted almost exclusively to international affairs *at the expense of the interests and needs of the American people at home.*" (My italics.) All the virtuous hoopla about Chamberlain and Mannerheim and Daladier cannot conceal the fact that ten million employable men and women are without jobs in private industry, that the National Labor Relations Board is under concerted attack, that the Dies committee imperils our elementary rights as citizens, that WPA is on the skids, that unions are being prosecuted for "anti-trust law violations," that the military has taken over the administration of our basic social service bureaus. The fundamental objectives of the CIO program are also the fundamental objectives of writers concerned with the preservation of culture:

1. The United States must keep out of any involvement in the foreign wars.

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2. The attention of this country and the energies of our government, industrial and labor leaders of this country, must be directed toward the immediate solving of the problem of unemployment.

3. The democratic rights and institutions of this country must be preserved and maintained.

4. There must be continued assurance and protection of the rights of labor to organize and bargain collectively as the cornerstone for the preservation and extension of any economic and social program.

Whether or not we are to have another *Grapes of Wrath* next year depends not only on the literary skill of our writers but also on their determination to resist the pressure to abandon domestic issues. While Vincent Sheean is busy celebrating the youthful vigor of Winston Churchill in the pages of the *Saturday Evening Post*, let us hope that a dozen writers are busy studying the heart-breaking conditions in Cleveland. While Dorothy Thompson organizes her holy crusade against the barbarous East, let us hope that more truly patriotic writers are investigating the steady rise of native fascist groups. The fight for democracy and humanity does not begin—as it does not end—at the edge of our frontiers, despite the persistent myth of industrial publicists. It begins in our factories and fields, in our schools and our legislative halls. Writers ought not be persuaded to lose that fact in an ecstasy of moral embargoism.

This does not mean, on the other hand, that a cultural isolationism is in order. A well known writer, speaking to a group of writers, declared the other day that the lights had gone out all over Europe and Asia. He was against Germany, Italy, Japan, France, Great Britain, the Soviet Union. He was for the Americas. The defeat on the Ebro, he said, was the end of democracy in Europe. In effect, this is the moral embargo mood in reverse. It reflects a desire to erect a high wall around our own treasures, with bricks and plaster supplied by Stuart Chase and John Chamberlain. It assumes the divine and manifest destiny of our own hemisphere.

If the lights are really out in Europe and Asia, we might just as well switch off the current here. Fortunately, this is not the case. It is true that a French decree last September outlawed a work by Jacques Duclos with the symbolic title *Les Droits de l'Intelligence*. It is true that Daladier doubles his crime by turning thousands of Spanish refugees over to Franco for a new slaughter, that he wages war against Hitlerism by sending German anti-fascist emigres to concentration camps and by blotting out democracy in France. It is true that Neville Chamberlain, who supported Hitler and Mussolini and Franco, now lavishes his affection upon Mannerheim. It is true that the blood and soil philosophy of the Nazi regime finds a grimly appropriate expression on the fields of Europe. But that is hardly the whole story. Peoples are on the march; Soviet socialism is on the march, consolidating its defenses against the Chamberlains and Mannerheims, the Daladiers and Hitlers. For the writer who has taken his stand with the democratic troops on the Ebro, who has not been routed by the skillful maneuvers of the enemy, this march is full of meaning and purpose for the future of humanity.

Civilization "as we have known it" may be over in Europe. That is hardly a reason for abandoning the fight for a civilization such as we have always desired, both in America and abroad, a civilization unmarred by hideous war and greed. Writers cannot refuse to share, at least imaginatively and creatively, in that fight. What they must bravely face, at every turn of events, is the responsibility to discover the right side—the side, that is to say, of the masses of people in whatever country. If they find themselves one day cheering for Hoover and Mannerheim, for the administration's war budgets and relief cuts, they may be sure that they have wandered into the wrong trenches.

The lights are not going out; they are struggling to be born. Even those who live in a cloud of defeatism should soon be able to perceive their glow. SAMUEL SILLEN.

Portrait of the Artist

ART YOUNG: HIS LIFE AND TIMES, *edited by John Nicholas Beffel. Sheridan House. $3.50.*

ART YOUNG gives such a nearly complete description of his book, on one of the last pages, that a reviewer can do no better than quote it:

> Through the events of seventy-odd years, as recorded in these pages, one man managed to find his direction. He reached his maturity during the upsurge of individualism, with its so-called "self-made" men (the profit-hounds) and their rise to dominance over government, the press, church, colleges, public business, and most of our country's institutions. Slowly this man grew aware of the wrongs resulting from such sovereignty, and then in his limited way tried to help in the work of bringing about social change.
>
> But he had to learn that many traditional customs and beliefs, however unreasonable and absurd they looked to him, couldn't be changed, and that to compromise with them was no great fault. He saw that there were countless follies and minor wrongs which, while not to be ignored, were not to be taken too seriously.
>
> During the last four decades of his life journey, as this chronicle has revealed, it became more and more evident that there was one wrong, one thing over all, standing in the way of honest and contented living—the unjust treatment of those who produce the wealth of the world by those who own most of that wealth; and that the continual fight between the moneyed interests and the working people (including artists) was the vital problem of our time. Now, during these recurring and ever-increasing conflicts, is it not obvious that we have to take sides? I think it has come to that, for all of us.

What is left out in this description is that Art Young did not merely become aware of the struggle, and the necessity of taking sides in it; he *took* sides and *joined* in the struggle, making his art a very sharp weapon very adroitly used. The generous gathering of reproductions that illustrate the book and are an organic part of it are evidences of its sharpness.

The reviewer must also add that the story is told with candor and simplicity. In its friendly directness it is such a faithful representation of Art Young himself that one must compliment John Nicholas Beffel, who did his editing so sensitively that we are never conscious of any voice but Art Young's in the narrative.

In his full life of more than seventy years Art Young, artist, with his additional talent for friendship, met many notable people; they appear in these pages in evocative pen and word pictures. With his love of work and necessity for free expression he became involved in the launching and operation of many magazines that have become part of our cultural history. Included were the various stages in the career of NEW MASSES. That story is a large part of the book.

Reading about them now, reading about some people who once made a big noise and have since been reduced by history to their dwarf dimensions; reading about the period of the World War and the months when the huge birth of the Soviet republic occurred, it is instructive to note how some liberals and socialists, when liberalism and socialism became hard roads to travel, found sonorous reasons for taking easier roads. We see the same turning on tracks, we hear similar sonorities today.

In that time neither his talents in art nor his talent for friendship saved Art Young from the consequences of honesty:

> My world had grown small and shaky. I learned what ostracism means. Men and women whom I had counted as friends found it convenient to pass me on the street without speaking or were brief and impersonal in their conversation. . . . Editors of most of the magazines where I had long had entree shied at my offerings. . . . Thus I had difficulty in making a living. . . .

Yet who survived these critical times better, Art Young or the falterers and compromisers?

ISIDOR SCHNEIDER.

Stunts by Strunsky

THE LIVING TRADITION: CHANGE IN AMERICA, *by Simeon Strunsky. Doubleday, Doran & Co. $3.50.*

READERS of Mr. Strunsky's book may recall the clowns of Elizabethan drama, those charming figures who capered about in many-colored costumes while uttering serious and noble judgments upon their times and the follies of their masters. Such a clown was a device employed by Shakespeare and others as an outlet for social criticism. The face of truth shone in this figure of fun.

Mr. Strunsky is also a clown—but in reverse. He wears a sober business suit and has intense eyes (the reviewer remembers a picture of Mr. Strunsky long ago in the *Times* Sunday Book section). But out of his determined mouth issues such a stream of platitudes, stupidities, and, shall we say, untruths,

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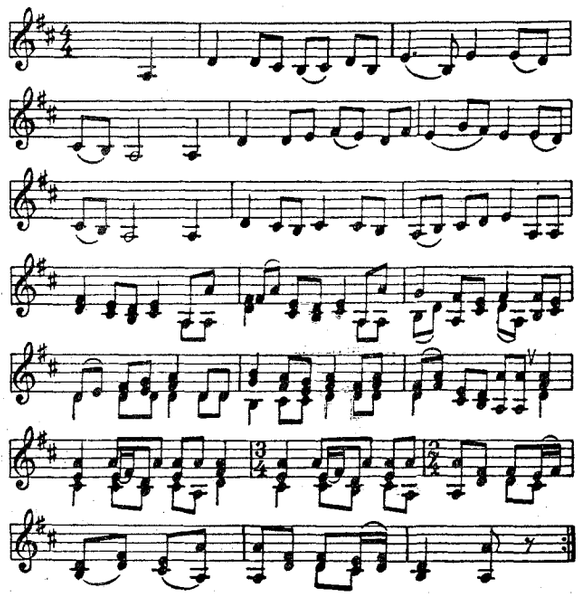
We Wish You

Byelo Russian folksong, recorded in the Red Plowman Collective Farm, Kopy, Byelo Russian SSR.

We wish you in all things
The best of good measure,
As now we are leaving
For home at our leisure.

'Twas grand to be feasting
With you at the party—
We never felt gayer
And never more hearty.

As wide as your commons,
The pride of the land,
Be your share of fortune
And may it expand.

May crystal clear water
In streamlets be running,
With geese by the thousand
A-swimming and sunning.

We wish all the farmers
To work at their best,
That horses and cattle
Their wealth may attest.

We wish that the horses
Be supple and strong,
That chickens be laying
The blessed day long.

We wish your collective
May prosper in health,
That everyone's cottage
Be rolling in wealth.

We wish you abundance
Of all things that please,
Of pork and potatoes
And cabbage and peas.

May wheat and may barley
As giants grow tall,
May larders be bursting
With plenty for all.

May each know the smell of
Rich savories roasting,
And never lack wine for
The pleasure of toasting.

May guests that you welcome
Come round to the house,
May none of you ever
Have reason to grouse.

That working together
Your farming brigade
May know such content
As never will fade.

And also we wish you
A baby a year.
For then you will always
Be full of good cheer.

And if by good fortune
You find that it's twins,
Not one will condemn you
Or speak of your sins.

The way to your cottage
We know very well,
So now we will often
Be ringing your bell.

Each time there's a baby
We'll come with a present,
We'll sing and make merry
And all will be pleasant.

Translated by Padraic Breslin.

that he produces a much greater comical effect than his ancestors. He too is a device, but a device created by those masters upon whom he refrains from passing any judgments. Where the old clown mocks, Mr. Strunsky shrugs and scrapes.

The corruption of capitalist society shows itself much more clearly in its apologists than in its gangsters. Mr. Strunsky's values are standard and willingly accepted, not forced upon him. And so the clown is now the representative rather than the critic of the class around which he hangs.

Corruption is not only a moral term. In Mr. Strunsky's case it denotes an almost physical inability to distinguish between reality and illusion. For instance: "In their hearts the people of Negro Harlem feel that they are the equal of the Wall Street magnates, and in their hearts the magnates know that this is so." The Negro people are certainly enjoying the fruits of this spiritual understanding, aren't they? They will also be interested to know that "a federal anti-lynching law is not in the realm of practical politics."

Here is Mr. Strunsky's contribution to political science: "The mischief of misgovernment in a democracy is in good measure repaired by the fact that all men are free to misgovern; that both sides can rig the election."

Here is his version of opportunity, one of his great American Constants:

> The reporter who joins the Newspaper Guild sees no reason why he should not be getting better pay and shorter hours while waiting for his chance to land one of the top jobs on the paper, or to capitalize on his friendships in the business world, or perhaps to finish someday that novel or play and see what happens. The cafeteria waitress is no doubt grateful for the better pay and shorter hours which the union may have brought her, but she has not abandoned her dream of qualifying someday as a beautician or a trained nurse.

Some Mr. Strunsky. Everybody's friend.

C. W.

The Abolitionists

ANTISLAVERY ORIGINS OF THE CIVIL WAR, *by Dwight L. Dumond. University of Michigan Press. $2.*

THE considered production of an outstanding scholar, this work deserves careful study. Professor Dumond's attitude is favorable to the Abolitionists, whom he recognizes as earnest, well informed, progressive people. He rightly points out that many were of Southern origin, that not a few had been slaveholders, and that all fearlessly and honestly struggled for a better world. This is very refreshing after the plethora of Bourbon works by Lloyd, Craven, Harlow, Caskey, etc., ridiculing, slandering, and denouncing these noble American figures.

Dumond demonstrates the close relationship between the battle for the slave's freedom and the effort to maintain the white man's freedom of speech and press and the right to

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petition and assemble. He pulls no punches in denouncing the sturdy pillars of society, the bank presidents, landlords, senators, mayors, and lesser bootlickers who early in the crusade led in suppressing those rights.

It is also interesting to note that the author believes Lincoln to have been as much an Abolitionist as Birney or Weld. His evidence did not appear convincing to this reviewer, but Dumond's position is certainly nearer the truth in this regard than is the very widespread idea that Lincoln felt slight concern for the Negro and desired only an intact Union.

Dumond, however, seriously underplays the importance of the Eastern wing of the Abolitionists, going so far as to say that, had there been no region east of the Alleghenies, the struggle would hardly have differed. He exaggerates, I think, the unquestionably great importance of the Northwest in the movement; while he can point to Corwin, Birney, Weld, and Giddings, is it accurate to neglect Hale, Garrison, Whittier, Sumner, Stevens? True, historical literature hitherto has generally overemphasized the latter, but this is no justification for Dumond's doing the opposite. The book also suffers from Dumond's total neglect of the role of the Negro.

Finally, Dumond's assertion that economic motivation is not fundamental to the picture cannot be accepted. Slavery was the base of production in the South and this economic fact—this four billion dollar fact—forms the kernel of the whole pro-slavery cause. It is to be noted that the anti-slavery movement becomes truly influential and respectable in the North only in the fifties—when for the first time in our history the products of the factory equal and surpass the products of the farm, when industrial capitalism has begun to come into its own. Dumond, with his concern to stress the Western origins of the anti-slavery movement, points out the free homestead plank in the Republican platform of 1860. But he neglects to note that this is preceded by a protective tariff plank and is followed by others calling for vast internal transportation improvements at the expense of the federal government.

HERBERT APTHEKER.

The USSR

A CRITIQUE OF RUSSIAN STATISTICS, *by Colin Clark. The Macmillan Co. $2.60.*

ARRAYED in the full panoply of scientific "objectivity," Mr. Colin Clark, eminent Fabian economist and authority on national incomes, attempts to minimize the Soviet Union's achievements and badly burns his fingers. In order to estimate the national income of the USSR he makes an independent check on official statistics and is compelled to recognize their accuracy. Thus on page 46 he writes, "It is not permissible to accuse Russian statisticians of deliberate distortion of the figures in order to overstate the productive achievements of their country." Unfortunately, the same cannot be said of Mr. Clark. While Soviet estimates show an increase of 100 percent in per capita income between 1928 and 1934, he writes, "The net return after the tremendous efforts of the First Five Year Plan seems to have been an increase of 4 percent in net income per head." Since his figures agree with Soviet figures, how are we to explain this discrepancy in percentages?

The shell trick lies in this. Whereas Mr. Clark's figures and Soviet figures agree when expressed in *rubles,* Mr. Clark makes his final estimates on the basis of *sterling,* and in the process of conversion allows himself considerable latitude. The pound is variously worth 4.7, 6.5, 9.3, 25, 35, etc., rubles, depending on goods purchased and the year in question. The methods used in determining these ratios are all subject to wide margins of error and in some cases are highly questionable, as for example the estimate of the precise purchasing power of the 1913 ruble on the basis of Baltic prices. By exchange manipulation Mr. Clark inflates the national incomes for 1913 and 1928 and lowers those for 1934 and 1937, with resulting low percentage increases. He has several other tricks that contribute to the above tendency, of which the most misleading is the one used in the agricultural estimates.

However, when he comes to the most recent period, Mr. Clark is forced to grant a 45 percent per capita increase in income between 1934 and 1937. He has to admit that unemployment has been cured and huge increases in population absorbed in the national economy. He cannot help but note that the Soviet government has made great expenditures on the cultural, educational, and health needs of the population. Even on the basis of his sterling figures Soviet progress is imposing; on the basis of the unchallenged ruble figures that progress is vertiginous. In either case this little volume is highly significant. It shows that despite all captious distortions, bourgeois economists cannot hide the radiant light of Soviet advance.

TONY WALES.

Selma Freeman Ramsey

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NEW MASSES

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G'wan With the Wind

Hollywood's march through Georgia makes Sherman look like a piker. James Dugan's report on "Gone With the Wind."

DYING men, it is said, see in their last moments a dense kaleidoscope of memories; their lives pass in review. Much the same thing holds for a dying society. The peculiar feudal past of the antebellum South, the decayed glory of a world well lost, has been an obsession with the American movies. *The Birth of a Nation* opened in 1915 in the same Broadway theater which now houses its successor in reactionary art, *Gone With the Wind*. A falsehood of such grandeur as this picture, a lie told with subtlety and persuasion in nearly four hours of expensive hokum, is more difficult to demolish than the ordinary tongue-in-cheek lies turned out every day in Hollywood. The myth of the Old South is widely believed; it is in fact one of the few things Hollywood believes in. This is fitting because it is the biggest myth of all.

Gone With the Wind does not present the crude white chauvinism of Griffith's film, but the deeper, more contemptible racism of the "kindly" slaveholder. Ashley Wilkes, one of the principals, once remarks that he dislikes to use convict laborers because he cannot take care of them as well as slaves. When Scarlett O'Hara is criminally attacked by a Negro and white carpetbagger, it is the white man who physically manhandles her. The "white trash" has come to enjoy the same subhuman status as the Negro in the eyes of the wretched Southern ruling class.

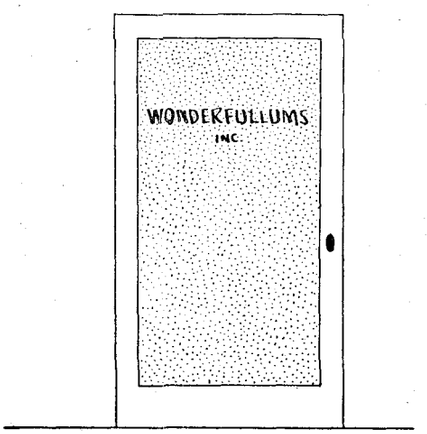
The exception of the "loyal" Negro is worked to death in the story; one of Scarlett's slaves repulses her white attacker. There is a Ku Klux Klan episode in the film, when the gentlemen officers ride out at night to terrorize the carpetbaggers, but it takes place offstage. There are several references to "darkies," and to the cowardly, shiftless nature of the Negro servants. There is a pointed caricature of a land agent promising a crowd of Negroes forty acres and a mule.

The Union Army and Abraham Lincoln come in for their share of the general abuse, and the audience is given the repeated impression that the Second American Revolution was a mistake.

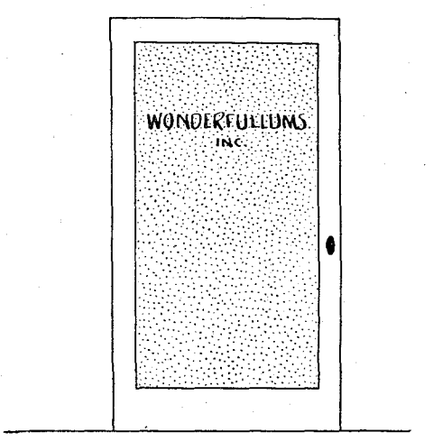
I should like to take Mr. David O. Selznick out of his chartered skysleeper and rub his nose in the South of pellagra, of Jim Crow, of illiteracy, of opium-like poverty, of sharecroppers, of the modern Ku Klux Klan riding down unionists. This is the South his brave old world has hung on to, the logical result of the counter-revolution against reconstruction for which he and Miss Mitchell are the apologists.

The Southern revolution promised for a while to be set in motion again by the New Deal, but Jack Garner rode out at night in his white eyebrows, leading the gallants against it. Selznick's Zouaves, riding hard from the West, have joined the pack. The next logical step is to prove that George Washington and Thomas Jefferson were a couple of bums who worked cruel hardships on courtly Cornwallis and Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne. It could be done with a slight twist of John Hay Whitney's checkbook.

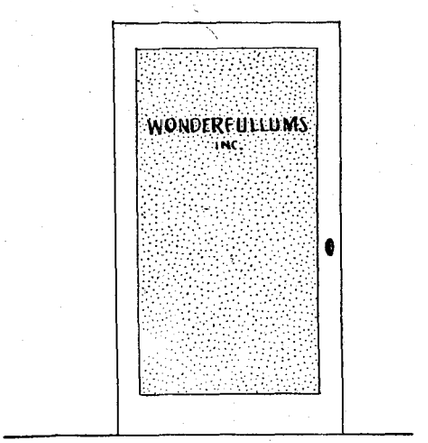
Miss Mitchell's noisome volume has been kept to with the piety of monkish copyists. I plead guilty to having studiously avoided it as I was busy carpetbagging during its phenomenal veneration. I am surprised to learn it is no ordinary piece of ancestor worship, but composed of skillful stereotypes, a certain drama and contrast, learned detail, and an air of injured righteousness. The agrarian aristocracy of the antebellum South, which rested airily on the misery of millions of black and white slaves, is now only a



". . . It's a Civil War story . . . The hero's in the Union Army . . . the girl's an Abolitionist and—wait a minute, Mr. Goldwyn—they believe slavery's gotta go in order to make a better . . . There's Copperheads all over working



against them . . . We got big scenes of the English running guns through the Union blockade to the big landowners, sea fights . . . The English wanta keep slavery—let me finish, Mr. Zanuck—but the hero and Abe Lincoln . . . The



British threaten intervention . . . It looks bad for America if the North doesn't win — please, Mr. Schenck — —Mr. Selznick!—but the Unions win their big victory at the second Battle of Bull Run . . . Gary Cooper leading them

on . . . Sherman marches . . . The slaves get freed . . . The girl, she can be Sylvia Sidney, goes down South to help them get educated . . . The hero's pals in the North are packing carpetbags . . . Just then—Gentlemen! HEY!"

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wraith, pressed between leaves and dwelling in the smell of honored tombs. Miss Mitchell's fantasy gains for the recognition of doom she gives her characters in the opening sequences as the first toasts are given to the defenders of Fort Sumter. Rhett Butler, the profiteer, says flatly the economic facts to a crowd of dashing imbeciles—the North has the arms, the industry, the men; you have only your arrogance—and this hindseen view dominates the Confederate officers throughout the story.

Structurally there are two stories—the wrong done a dreamlike civilization, and the story of Scarlett O'Hara. For over three-quarters of the picture the first falsehood has its day, and then is dropped in the seventies to work out the boresome saga of Scarlett and Rhett. Wan Southern heroines drop like overripe pears in this part, little girls are killed jumping their ponies, and the old lady gossips pursue their febrile ways. You can almost smell the decay in the atmosphere of these scenes; death is the actor in the red plush and baroque interiors of the post-Reconstruction period. The grand feudal civilization holds itself together with whisky and funerals and memories; it hasn't even the strength for czarist orgies.

The last note in the film is an interesting one. Through her capriciousness Scarlett has lost her third husband and is at loss for something to turn to. The voices of the past, her father's and her old lover's, bid her to go back to the old plantation. Land is the only thing worth keeping. Could any landhog civilization state its case more frankly?

The picture is not all false, for some truth is necessary in these big myths; one must know how to read the self-revelation contained in its veil of perversion.

As entertainment there is little to be said for *Gone With the Wind,* particularly its dreary second reel. The technicolor is appropriately phony and the acting, with the exception of Vivien Leigh as Scarlett, is as wooden as the Mitchell characters.

The film has a great role to play in a new period of reaction, just as *The Birth of a Nation* signalized the first distinguished enlistment of the movies for purposes of death. Desperate reactionaries will feel their spirits soar in the face of this comforting past they would recapture; from it will naturally be inspired all the dark and murderous deeds needed to put down the people once again. The ruling class cannot face the future; they point us toward the miserable past. Abraham Lincoln and Emancipation and the stabilization of Southern economy, the progress for which my great-grandfather died in The Wilderness, is spit upon in this movie. Why did the hoarse Abolitionists cry this outrage of slavery in the land, John Brown stand up wildeyed in Kansas, and Lincoln face his ordeal? That we should learn eighty years from them that the Old South was beautiful? I think not. Hollywood has taken this lie seriously and I think progressive America will too.

Not a movie reviewer that I have read in

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the great objective press of the nation has dared to mention that *Gone With the Wind* deals with American history. With nice critical whereases the boys have begun with the assumption that it's all true, and then they juggle the customary adjectives about the acting, length of the picture, direction, color, etc., and earn the boss a night's repose.

I offer myself to the press for interviews on my reaction to *Gone With the Wind*. In all modesty I can't expect a big play since nobody told me to "blister" the picture and no cables came in from Stalin asking to read my copy before it went to press. If MGM has an ounce of gratitude it will give Howard Rushmore a job at once. Precious few others will hit the sawdust trail, I suspect.

PTUSHKO PUPPETS

Alexander Ptushko, Soviet puppet artisan, whose *New Gulliver* ranks as one of the marvels of the stop-motion caricature film, has given us a new one, *The Golden Key*, now at the Cameo. Alexei Tolstoy's story is an inventive, Russianized version of the Pinocchio legend, remembered from a childhood visit to Italy. Ptushko employs a clever technique of alternating children with puppets in a nicely integrated manner. I have an idea children will get as big a belt out of this fanciful tale as they do from the Lone Ranger, if they have an adult to read the English captions to them. As a matter of fact it is hard in Soviet pictures to draw the line, as Hollywood does, between the young and older audience tastes. I thought *The Childhood of Maxim Gorky* was one of the most profound films I had ever seen, and learned a couple of months later it had been made in a children's studio for kid audiences. What goes on over there, letting the kids in on everything? Anyway *The Golden Key* is warm and funny, and the puppet turtles, dogs, frogs, and children steal the picture from the grown-up character actors slightly involved in it.

There was a French film named *The Last Desire* one day last week. It was about an old man and a young girl. The management passed out champagne in the audience but one glass wasn't enough to convince me.

JAMES DUGAN.

A. Ajay

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There is not much doubt that the machine age has had an influence on man (and woman), but there is a good deal of room to doubt that Mr. Igo knows exactly what it is, or that he can write about it for the theater. In a rambling and half-baked symbolical style he premises a huge Polish worker who loses his religion in the mills, and finds instead—Steel. Steel becomes his god, his life, his all, and it kills him, symbolically and actually. Mr. Igo's realism is diluted, but his symbolism is positively the purest H_2O.

Individual performances by Donald De Fore, Ad Karns (who also did a good directorial job), Priscilla Jamison, and a young woman who played an Italian neighbor will bring deserved attention to these people. But much as the Antioch Players merit our support for the vitality they have brought to this moment in the theater, I cannot consciously recommend that you spend your money to see them in this job. When they get a play, they will be worth paying to see.

ALVAH BESSIE.

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TOWARD THE FORTIES

THE YEAR 1939 began with the victory of fascism in Spain, with the betrayal of democratic bastions in Czechoslovakia. It ends with the triumphant campaigns of socialism in Eastern Europe. Capitalism has a toe-hold on itself on the Maginot Line; the New Deal is going with the wind. The new year brings a new era of struggles: changed tactics and sudden realignments.

Confusion never had a better chance to lick good men than right now. *New Masses* has tried to answer your questions in the first stage of the new era in wars and revolutions. We cannot undo the lies of the enemy as quickly as they are manufactured, or in like quantity. What we think our readers want is the basic facts, the analysis that relates specific situations to ultimate goals. This forum has been upheld time and again by the alacrity and honesty of its public.

We can make a fiscal report on the eve of the forties. Circulation increased more than 50 percent during 1939; thank you, readers of *New Masses*. Indications point to an even greater increase in the power of Marxist truth for 1940. This January, we are twenty-eight years of age; encouraged by its legion of stanch friends, illumined by our great tradition, each *New Masses* writer is in shape for the great work of the next decade.

This is no time to bake cakes, to blow out candles.

Not while decayed liberals and renegades paste up the posters for the anti-Soviet crusade; not while the war dance begins; not while the crisis grows in relief and unemployment, not while the capitalist world staggers in convulsion . . . as the day of socialist liberation approaches in Europe.

You can continue to help us. We shall continue to serve.

Happy New Year.

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